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A CATALOGUE OF THE
ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS



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CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY

A CATALOGUE OF THE
ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE HISTORY OF
ARMENIAN ART

BY
SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

*Professor of Byzantine Art at Dumbarton Oaks
Member of the Faculty of Arts and Letters
at Harvard University*

With 67 plates

VOLUME I · TEXT

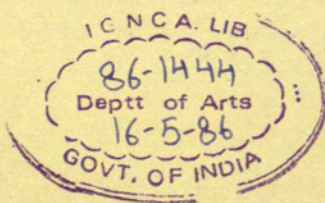
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of
JAMES VERE STEWART WILKINSON
late librarian of the Chester Beatty Library
whose scholarship and courtesy will be long remembered



FOREWORD

MY interest in Armenian illustrated manuscripts was first aroused by the fact that the impressive achievements of Armenia in the book arts, forming an important link between East and West, have been comparatively little studied in Europe. I was fortunate in being able to collect a number of representative Armenian manuscripts and miniatures, dating from the twelfth century onwards, and certainly no less fortunate in securing so eminent a scholar as Professor S. Der Nersessian to catalogue them. She has done this as a labour of love, and her catalogue, which is much more than a mere catalogue, will, I feel, be recognized as a most distinguished work of scholarship.

Messrs. Emery Walker Ltd. have again, under the personal direction of Mr. Wilfred Merton, added greatly to the value of the catalogue by the admirable plates, in the preparation of which no care has been spared.

A. CHESTER BEATTY

PREFACE

ARMENIAN illustrated manuscripts form one of the most important groups among the codices of the Christian East both from their artistic quality and the number of surviving examples. Next to the Greek manuscripts they are in fact the only ones which provide us with an uninterrupted series of examples dating from the late ninth to the early eighteenth centuries. The study of Armenian painting, important for its intrinsic interest, is also essential for a better understanding of the expansion of late Classical and Byzantine art to the East, and of the counter-influence of Near Eastern art on that of Byzantium and even of western Europe.

Art historians of the medieval period have become increasingly aware of this, but the material available for a serious consideration of many of these problems is all too inadequate. Only a relatively small number of illustrated Armenian manuscripts have been published and a great deal of the information concerning them is scattered in books and articles in Armenian, which are often inaccessible. There is no proper inventory of the largest collection, that of Etchmiadzin, now at Erivan; the Catalogue of the Jerusalem Library is only beginning to appear, those of the Mekhitharist libraries of Venice and Vienna are incomplete. The systematic study of Armenian manuscripts is therefore a difficult though greatly needed task, and I am very happy to have been offered the opportunity of publishing those in Sir Chester Beatty's Library. This is the richest among the private collections in Europe, and from the point of view of the illustrations it surpasses in importance all but a few of the holdings in European public libraries. The early period, from which only a few examples have survived, is not represented, but beginning with the twelfth century there are significant examples from all the important centres and several works of outstanding quality by the leading artists of their time. The collection is especially rich in manuscripts of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries written in the monasteries around Lake Van and near Ispahan.

This representative group of manuscripts offers possibilities to study the art of miniature painting in Great Armenia, in Cilicia, and in other national centres. It seemed, therefore, advisable to add a fairly long Introduction to the Catalogue proper in order to present a coherent picture of the character and trends of Armenian painting, and a general background for the individual examples considered in greater detail in the Catalogue. This survey is particularly necessary for the later centuries which have not yet been properly studied and during which the centres of activity are far removed from one another; more attention has therefore been devoted, in the Introduction, to this late period, while the early centuries have been summarily treated. Problems requiring a detailed demonstration, such as the specific relations with the arts of the neighbouring countries, have been purposely avoided since they would have entailed the reproduction of comparative material selected from the illustrated manuscripts of those countries as well as of examples in other media.

In the Catalogue proper the 'remarks' after the description of each manuscript bring out the significant features of the illustration, the style of the paintings, the unusual or interesting aspects of the iconography and of miniature-cycles. Whenever the scribe



and painter were known, or could be identified, I have tried to collect all the information available about them, and to give a list of their other works.

The Catalogue and the Introduction were completed in the summer of 1951; a year spent in the Near East enabled me to add information based on the manuscripts I studied in the different libraries and collections, but no important changes were made. The manuscripts and fragments acquired since 1951 are described in a Supplement. In the Catalogue, as well as in the Supplement, the manuscripts are grouped by categories, according to the texts, and arranged chronologically within each group. The illustrations follow the chronological order, regardless of the textual content, so as to give a clearer idea of the evolution of Armenian painting.

It is a pleasant duty to thank all those who facilitated my work. I wish to offer my very special thanks to Sir Chester Beatty for giving me the privilege of publishing his important collection, for his gracious hospitality while I was studying the manuscripts, and for his readiness to include reproductions of so many examples. I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson for his unfailing kindness and constant assistance, without which this work could not have been done. My thanks are also due to Mr. Wilfred Merton for many helpful suggestions and for his personal care in producing the very fine plates. I found valuable information in a brief catalogue of the Collection prepared by Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan while he was the primate of the Armenian Church in England. I am very grateful to the curators of manuscripts in different libraries and museums and to the dignitaries of the Armenian Church for their assistance, especially to Archbishop Yeghishé Derderian, locum tenens of the Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem, and to Bishop Norayr Bogharian, Keeper of the Manuscripts, who during my stay of six months gave me every possible facility for my studies; to Archbishop Garegin Khatchaturian, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, owing to whose personal interest and help I was able to study the manuscripts preserved in various churches; to Bishop Zareh Paysalian and the governing board of the Church of Aleppo who gave me permission to study the manuscripts kept at the Church of the Forty Martyrs. I owe a very special debt of gratitude to the late Catholicos of Cilicia, Garegin I Hovsep'ian who most generously allowed me to consult his rich collection of unpublished material, as well as to study the manuscripts of Antilias. I am also indebted to the private owners who let me have access to their collections and gave me photographs of their manuscripts, in particular Messrs. H. Kevorkian, H. Hazarian, and D. K. Deyrmenjian in New York, and Messrs. J. Pozzi, P. Esmerian, and L. Cartier in Paris. Mr. Bernard Berenson very kindly sent me photographs of four important miniatures in his possession; through the courtesy of Professor A. Boeckler of Munich I was able to obtain a microfilm of a manuscript in Berlin; my friends and colleagues at Dumbarton Oaks and in Paris have given me assistance of various kinds for which I am most grateful. Finally I wish to express my thanks to the staff of the Oxford University Press for the fine printing of this volume, and to my sister Mrs. A. Der Nersessian for her help throughout my work.

S. DER NERSESSIAN

DUMBARTON OAKS

December 1953



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INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

THE earliest extant Armenian manuscripts belong to the late ninth and tenth centuries, but the history of illumination should no doubt be traced back to the invention of the Armenian alphabet in the fifth century. In the schools that were established in different parts of Armenia, apart from the select group of scholars who translated the Bible and other sacred and liturgical texts, there were numerous scribes who copied these translations destined for the churches and smaller monasteries throughout the country. Some of these manuscripts must have been sumptuous copies, for a writer of the late sixth and early seventh centuries, Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh, speaks of books written on purple vellum, painted with gold and silver, and bound in ivory, as well-known examples in his time.¹

Large collections of manuscripts are sometimes mentioned by the historians in their accounts of wars and invasions. Thus Stephen Orbelian relates that in 1170, when the Seljuk Turks captured the fortress of Baghaberd, they destroyed more than ten thousand manuscripts and other treasures brought there for safe-keeping from Tat'ev and other monasteries and churches of Siunik'.² Many valuable works were destroyed at Edessa in 1144 when 'Imād al-Dīn Zengi burned the archives of the city; others perished in Cilicia in 1292 when the Sultan of Egypt captured the patriarchal see of Hromkla. At the time of the joint expedition of Baiju and the Armenians against the Turks, the Mongols seized many liturgical books, Bibles, and New Testaments 'in gilt letters and richly executed', some of which the Armenians were able to save and carry to the monasteries in the eastern provinces.³

But it is particularly in the colophons of the manuscripts that such destructions are more frequently recalled. The significance of these long notices for the history of palaeography and art is self-evident, since they give us the date and place of writing, the names of the owners, those of the scribes and painters, sometimes together with the names of their teachers or pupils. We have thus a sure and purely factual basis for grouping the works of a particular school and even of an individual scribe. Other indications concerning the binder, the various assistants who prepared the vellum, the ink, and colours, throw light on the methods of work. Sometimes the scribes write the exact dates of the beginning and completion of their work, or the owners mention the price paid for the manuscript. Information given by owners also shows that the patrons were not always high dignitaries or wealthy persons; men of very humble origin, for whom the possession of a handsome manuscript was the aim of a lifetime, saved with great pains the necessary sum; and they were helped in their efforts by relatives and friends.

There is often a very personal touch in the brief comments added at random. The scribes complain about the length of the text, about the heat and the flies which annoy

¹ S. Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie des images du septième siècle', *Byzantion*, xvii (1944-5), 65.

² Step'annos Orbelian, *History of the House of Siunik'* (in Armenian), Moscow, 1861, p. 246.

³ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie. Additions et Éclaircissements*, p. 446; Kirakos vardapet, *History* (in Armenian), Venice, 1865, pp. 152-3.



them in the summer, or the extreme cold of the winter when their fingers are numbed and the ink freezes in the pots. The complaints are sometimes humorously expressed in doggerel verse; there are also other verses which, if collected, would constitute an interesting anthology of the popular poetry of the Middle Ages.

But the principal complaints are about the difficulties of the times, the insecurity and the poverty caused by the recurrent wars and invasions, destruction and plunder, religious persecutions, the heavy exactions of foreign rulers. These are not idle words, and the difficult circumstances under which the work was carried on are abundantly proved when a manuscript begun in one monastery is continued in a second or even a third, the scribe having been forced to flee before the invading armies or to seek refuge elsewhere when his monastery was destroyed. Some of these colophons provide us with contemporary evidence of historical events. A scribe who worked at the monastery of Saint Barlaam on Mount Casius gives an eyewitness account of the siege of Antioch by the Crusaders in 1098;¹ another, writing in 1193, relates the death of Frederick Barbarossa.² Much could be learnt about the history of the Mongols, and in particular of the Ilkhans of Persia, from the colophons of the manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; those of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries give us particulars about the campaigns of Tamerlane; those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain valuable information on the wars between Persia and Turkey.

Finally, these colophons show the place held by the manuscripts in Armenian life. A copy of the Scriptures or of a liturgical book is an imperishable treasure set by the owner in heaven, and the scribes repeatedly quote the words of Isaiah: 'Blessed is he who has children in Sion and a family in Jerusalem.' By offering a manuscript to a church or to a monastery the donor increases his hopes for salvation, since his name is henceforth recalled in the daily prayers, and gifts of manuscripts are mentioned in the inscriptions carved on the walls of churches. The act of writing or of commissioning a manuscript was a worthy deed comparable to that of erecting a church or of fashioning a cross. In the colophon of the Armenian translation of the History of Michael the Syrian we read:

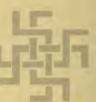
'God constantly prompts human beings to good deeds and acts of faith, that is to the love and glorification of His most holy name. . . . And what are the fruits of goodness if not the cross, the church and the book, through which God-loving men are encouraged to perform good deeds and to love goodness. . . . For some erect churches, the dwelling of angels and the place of atonement for men. Others fashion crosses of gold, and they adorn them with precious and brilliant stones in memory and in love of our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified and who, by shedding His blood on the cross, brought peace in heaven and on earth. Others make books, that is they write the lives of the martyrs so as to have their intercession before the awe-inspiring tribunal of Christ. Others again record the victories and the battles of conquering kings, remembering that the rule of mortal kings endures but for a while among mortal men, while the kingdom of our immortal king, Jesus Christ, is without end and eternal.'³

Given the tangible and intangible values of manuscripts, their preservation was a matter of great concern, and the scribes, especially in the later centuries, beg the

¹ New Julfa, no. 131: P. Peeters, 'Un témoignage autographe sur le siège d'Antioche par les Croisés', *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti De Meyer*, Louvain, 1946, pp. 373-90. The entire colophon was published by N. Akinian in *Handes Amsorya*, xlv (1930), 561-64.

² Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 538: Gospel written at the monastery of Katen in Cilicia.

³ A. Surmėyan, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem* (in Armenian), Venice, 1948, pp. 141-3, manuscript no. 32, A.D. 1273.



readers not to scribble in the margins, not to cut the pictures or thumb the pages; they instruct them not to let the wax drop on the book and to hold it with a cloth. But good care was not sufficient, and a scribe writes: 'In times of wars and invasions carry the manuscripts to the cities and bury them, but in times of peace take them out and read them, for closed books are like idols.'

One may wonder whether in comparing closed books to idols the writer had in mind some extreme forms of veneration. In speaking of the honour paid to manuscripts Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh wrote: 'When we bow down before the Holy Gospel or when we kiss it, we do not bow before the ivory or the purple . . . but before the word of the Saviour written on the vellum.'¹ However, the common people did not always make this fine distinction; manuscripts were venerated for themselves, and miraculous powers were sometimes attributed to them. The place held by manuscripts among the Armenians is in some ways comparable to the one held by icons among the Greeks. Just as the Byzantine emperors sometimes carried an icon, as a palladium, during their military campaigns, the Armenians took with them the Holy Gospel. The practice, already attested in the fifth century, was still in use in the tenth century.² Manuscripts, especially those endowed with miraculous powers, were designated by a special name, for instance *Amenap'rkitch* (Saviour of All) or *Merelaharoyts* (Resurrector of the Dead), just as special names were attached to particular icons. The capture and destruction of manuscripts are recorded, as we have seen, by the historians in the same way as the Greek and especially the Russian chroniclers record the fate of celebrated icons. A manuscript which falls into the hands of the infidels is referred to as being a 'captive', and it is the duty of every faithful Christian to redeem it as he would redeem a prisoner.

All this helps us to understand why, in spite of the numerous difficulties, so many manuscripts were written and illustrated. The production must have been vast indeed, for about twenty thousand still survive after the destructions caused by time and man.

The oldest manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Collection belong to the end of the twelfth century. The Seljuk invasion of Armenia in 1064 had interrupted the long period of artistic activity which had produced such outstanding works as the Gospel of Queen Mlk'e of A.D. 902, the Etchmiadzin Gospel of A.D. 989, the handsome Gospels of King Gagik, and of Trebizond, of the middle of the eleventh century. Devastated by the Byzantine as well as the Turkish armies, having lost many of its feudal lords and large groups of the population, subjected moreover to heavy taxations, the country was in a state of extreme poverty. Conditions began to improve only in the latter part of the twelfth century when the Georgian kings, having freed themselves from the Seljuk yoke, initiated a more aggressive policy and gradually conquered the northern and central provinces of Armenia. These territories were assigned to the Armenian princes who had led the Georgian armies, the Zak'arians and the Orbelians; these in turn ceded fiefs to other feudal families, and thus for more than a century a major part of Armenia was once again under the direct control of its national leaders. For the Mongol conquest did not immediately alter the situation; the relations between the

¹ S. Der Nersessian, *Une apologie des images*, p. 65.

² V. Hatsuni, 'The Bible and Armenia' (in Armenian), *Pazmaveb*, Venice, 1935, nos. 9-12, pp. 329, 331.



Ilkhans and the Armenian feudal lords were those of sovereign and vassal, and in the internal affairs of their principalities the latter enjoyed a considerable degree of independence.

The artistic history closely follows the trend of political events. Numerous churches begin to be erected or restored in the late twelfth century, donations are made to the monasteries, and with the return of a period of relative security scribes resume their activities. The impoverished state of the monasteries, the break in the artistic traditions, the isolation from the important centres of Christian art are discernible in the poorer quality and the archaic character of most of the manuscripts written at Horomos, near Ani, and in the monasteries of the northern provinces. The gold backgrounds are usually replaced by a yellow wash or bright colours, as in Codex no. 555 (Pl. 2); figure representations are often limited to the portraits of the Evangelists, seated or standing under decorative arcades, in conformity with the earlier tradition.¹

There had been a strong Byzantine influence during the first part of the eleventh century when the small Armenian kingdoms and principalities were taken over, one by one, by the Byzantine emperors. This influence is apparent in the miniatures of the Trebizond Gospel which rank with the finest Byzantine examples, and some of which may even be by the hand of a Greek artist;² it is noticeable in the illustrations of the Gospel of King Gagik of Kars, where the Byzantine elements are subtly blended with the Armenian style.³ But there was an equally strong Eastern trend in Armenia, based on the earlier Sasanian tradition,⁴ and it is this trend which predominates in the works of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Codex no. 556 is a very good example of the simpler type of decoration used during this period (Pls. 3-5). Three- or five-lobed leaves, half-palmettes, and rosettes are inscribed in roundels or drawn inside a lozenge trellis; the floral scrolls are reduced to linear interlaces and retain the leaves only at the extremities. The geometric designs consist chiefly of intersecting lozenges which determine a five-point star, or of star-patterns formed by the circumvolutions of a single strand. In the decoration of the Canon tables the architectural framework provided by an arch inscribed in a rectangle begins to be disregarded; the rectangles are considered as a uniform area which can be covered with an all-over pattern or a series of roundels. This disregard for the architectonic character of the Canon arcade is also apparent in the ornamental design of the columns, knotted at the centre, and in the use of interlaces and roundels for the capitals and bases.

The ornaments are richer and more varied in other manuscripts of the thirteenth

¹ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitharistes de Venise*, Paris, 1937, pp. 15-29.

² Venice, San Lazzaro, nos. 1400 and 1925, called 'Trebizond' Gospel because it was brought to Venice from Trebizond: K. Weitzmann, 'Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts', *Istanbul Forschungen*, Band iv, Bamberg, 1933, pp. 19-23, pls. xi-xiv; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1945, p. 120, pls. xix, xxi. 1.

³ Jerusalem, no. 2556: S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 118-20, pls. xxii. 1,

xxiii; Mesrop Ter Movsesian, 'The Gospel of King Gagik' (in Armenian), *Ararat*, 1910, pp. 332-41; H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts*, London, 1942, no. 417.

⁴ See especially Erivan, no. 81, Gospel of A.D. 986: A. N. Svirine, *La miniature dans l'ancienne Arménie* (in Russian, with French title), Moscow-Leningrad, 1939, p. 37; Etchmiadzin, no. 993/4804, Gospel of A.D. 1018: Svirine, op. cit., p. 39; Erivan, no. 6201, Gospel of A.D. 1038: Svirine, op. cit., p. 41; G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts T'ar* (in Armenian), Jerusalem, 1937, fig. 22.

century.¹ The rainbow motif, coloured disks, chevrons, the favourite motifs of the tenth century, reappear as well as the bands imitating Kufic inscriptions already used in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The simplified contours of the peacocks and other birds drawn around the Canon tables and occasionally in the margins of the text, their striped plumage, the bands around their necks, ally these representations with the drawings of the early eleventh-century manuscripts and show the continued survival of Sasanian forms. Addorsed elephants or confronted lions appear in the lunettes of some Canon tables.² The griffons with a tail ending in an animal head recall the contemporary examples of Seljuk art and even better perhaps the paintings of a Coptic manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century.³

The selected scenes from the life of Christ, which the artists of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries had grouped at the beginning of the Gospels, reappear in an exceptionally fine manuscript of the late twelfth century,⁴ and are more frequently used in the thirteenth. The painters sometimes introduce new scenes into the cycle or new iconographic variants. Thus in a Gospel illustrated in 1236 by the scribe Ignatios, the most prominent artist of this period, the soldiers guarding the sepulchre are represented separately from the visit of the Holy Women: the men are grouped around the sarcophagus, and one of them stretches his arm across the lid as if he were trying to keep it closed.⁵ In the Raising of Lazarus the tomb is not represented and one of the sisters, seated on the ground, embraces the shrouded body of Lazarus.⁶ Familiar interpretations may be seen in other manuscripts. In the Entry into Jerusalem a woman dressed in the contemporary costume looks on from the window of a high building like the bell-towers of Armenian churches; her companions stand on the flat roof of the adjoining house, while an old turbaned man takes the place of the Jews before the city gate.⁷ In another example of the same scene young boys sound their trumpets and the women watch from behind the city walls.⁸ Contemporary figures are also

¹ The most important examples of the 13th century are the following: Etchmiadzin, no. 6288, Gospel of Haghat, A.D. 1211: G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies for the History of Armenian Art and Culture* (in Armenian), Jerusalem, 1935, i. 41-75; Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 84-89; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxxi. Etchmiadzin, no. 232/378, Gospel of Khatchen, c. A.D. 1212: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 83-85; G. Hovsep'ian, *Album of Paleography* (in Armenian), Vagharshapat, 1913, p. 32, nos. 74-75. Etchmiadzin, no. 1759, Gospel, c. A.D. 1187-1212: G. Hovsep'ian, 'Pieces of Sasanian Textile ...' (in Armenian), *Handes Amsorya*, xlix (1935), 252-63. Etchmiadzin, no. 1382/1406, Gospel of Haritj, A.D. 1219: G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians or Proshians* (in Armenian), Vagharshapat, 1928, figs. 68-69. Etchmiadzin, no. 2743/1058, Gospel of the T'argmantchats monastery, A.D. 1232: H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *Hand List*, no. 373. Manuscripts illustrated by Ignatios: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens*, pp. 29-38, pl. x-xii; G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, i. 15-34; *ibid.*, vol. ii, New York, 1943, pp. 60-66; H. Kurdian, 'The Miniaturist Ignatios' (in Armenian), *Anahit*, Paris, 1939, no. 3, pp. 32 and ff.; Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 90-91.

² Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 85; J. Baltrušaitis, *Art sumérien, art roman*, Paris, 1934, fig. 39.

³ G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, i, figs. 68-70; Paris, Coptic, no. 129¹¹: W. de Gruneisen, *Caractéristiques de l'art copte*, Florence, 1922, pl. XLVIII.

⁴ Erivan, no. 207: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 27, 42, 45, 47; G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts Tar*, fig. 31; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxx. 1.

⁵ New Julfa, no. 36: H. Kurdian, 'The Miniaturist Ignatios', fig. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 18; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxx. 2.

⁷ Etchmiadzin, no. 6288, Gospel of Haghat, A.D. 1211: Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 89; G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, i, p. 51, fig. 3; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxxi. 1. A similar composition may be seen in two Syriac Lectionaries slightly later in date than the Gospel of Haghat: G. de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Vatican City, 1940, pl. xiv and p. 94.

⁸ Chicago University, no. 949, Gospel of A.D. 1237: G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, ii, p. 47, fig. 3.

represented next to the Canon tables: a young man playing a musical instrument; two priests designated as the abbot of the monastery and the binder of the manuscript; a young man holding a water-jug, another carrying a large fish at the end of a stick. Next to the last figure the scribe has written: 'Sherenik, bring the fish whenever you come.'¹

There is marked improvement in the course of the thirteenth century; the higher quality of the work is noticeable in the harmonious ornamental compositions of Codex no. 557 (Pl. 7), in the accuracy of the drawing, and in the fine colours set off by the gold background. The range of ornamental motifs is, however, still restricted, and this is quite surprising when one considers the sculpture of this period, the variety of birds and quadrupeds carved on the façades of churches like the church of St. Gregory erected by Tigran Honents at Ani,² the delicate floral scrolls, the intricate polygonal interlaces which decorate the portals and windows of other churches and cover the entire surface of the tombstones.³

The relative simplicity of the manuscripts of Great Armenia also contrasts with the rich illuminations of those written in the new kingdom of Cilicia. The geographical position of this region, settled and conquered by the Armenians in the course of the twelfth century, had significant consequences for its historical and artistic development. Though separated from the Byzantine Empire by the Seljuk kingdom of Iconium, the Armenians were now in a country partly inhabited by the Greeks, and where the monuments erected by the latter could still be seen. Their establishment in Cilicia coincided with the Crusades, and the political connexions with the Latin kingdoms of the Levant, strengthened by family ties, contributed to the introduction of Western customs and Western thought. Moreover, the new kingdom had an outlet on the Mediterranean, and the Armenians thus came into closer contact with other countries. The port of Ayas, or Lajazzo, was one of the principal trading-centres between East and West, and the starting-point of one of the principal land routes into Asia. According to Marco Polo, 'all the spicery and the cloths of silk and of gold and of wool from inland are carried to this town...; and all men and merchants who wish to go farther inland through the regions of the east, come first to the said port of Laias and take their way from this town.'⁴ The kings of Cilicia had been the first Christian rulers to form an alliance with the Mongols, and in the course of the thirteenth century they and other members of the royal family went several times to the Mongol court in distant Caracorum, and later to the capital of the Ilkhans in Persia.

All these connexions played their part in the formation and evolution of the art of Cilicia, which we know primarily through the illuminated manuscripts. The Eastern trend of Great Armenia predominates in the earliest products of the twelfth century,⁵

¹ Etchmiadzin, no. 6288: G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, i, p. 46, fig. 1; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxxi, 2; Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 86-87.

² J. Baltrušaitis, *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*, Paris, 1929, pl. LXV.

³ Ibid., pls. xiv-xix, LXII, LXXVIII; G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts Tar*, figs. 36-37, 40-42, 44.

⁴ Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, edited by A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London, 1938, vol. i, p. 94.

⁵ J. Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturmalerei. Die Miniaturen des Tübinger Evangeliiars MA XIII. I vom Jahre 1113 bezw. 893 n. Chr.*, Tübingen, 1907. The Gospel was written and illuminated at Drazark in 1113; the copy of the colophon stating that the model had been written in 893 has since been proved to have been a forgery, cf. G. Hovsep'ian, *Album of Paleography*, p. 48 and pl. 92. Gospel written at Hromkla in 1166: G. Hovsep'ian, 'Relics of the Past' (in Armenian), *Ararat*, 1910, pp. 251-7. London,

but during the latter part of the century we observe a marked preference for the more refined style influenced by Byzantine art. The major works illustrated for the catholicos Nerses the Gracious, for Het'um prince of Lambron, for his brother bishop Nerses, and for other high dignitaries of the Church¹ are derived from the Byzantinizing manuscripts such as the Gospels of King Gagik and of Trebizond, previously mentioned, or a Gospel written in 1066 in Sebastia and later brought to Cilicia.² The patronage of the kings of the Het'umian dynasty who ascended the throne in 1226, that of the catholicos Constantine I, the owner of Codex no. 558 of this collection, gave a further impetus to the arts, and the manuscripts of the thirteenth century mark one of the highest points of Armenian illumination.³

In the decorations of the Canon tables, of the dedicatory pages and headpieces, in the numerous ornaments drawn in the margins, the repertory of earlier Armenian manuscripts is enriched by the addition of elements derived from various sources and skilfully combined into a harmonious unity (Pls. 8-13).

The complex polygonal interlaces recall the carvings on the churches and tombstones of Great Armenia; the principles of the interlace also modify the floral design, transforming the scrolls into floral arabesques, or resulting in polygonal interlaces framed by a circle. Many motifs belong to the late Classical tradition, adopted by the artists of the Early Christian period and by those who decorated the palaces and mosques of the Umayyad caliphs. Vine and acanthus scrolls, springing from vases or cornucopiae, often replace the palm scrolls; birds, real and imaginary animals, run or chase one another in these scrolls; human masks appear in the acanthus whorls, and the fret is more frequently used than in the preceding period. The vine scroll animated with human and animal figures had been carved in the tenth century on the façades of the church of Aght'amar, and in A.D. 1134 around the door of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Mush;⁴ similar representations appear frequently on contemporary Muslim ceramics and metal works, but the greater freedom in the compositions and in the movement of the animals, the graceful lines of their supple bodies ally the Cilician paintings more closely with those works of the Early Christian period which still retained the naturalism of late Classical art.

Brit. Mus. Or. 81, Gospel written at Drazark in 1181-2.

¹ Etchmiadzin, no. 1561/1568, Works of Gregory of Narek, A.D. 1173, illustrated by Grigor for Nerses of Lambron: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 50-51. Gospel begun for the catholicos Nerses the Gracious and finished in 1174 for his successor Grigor, written by the scribe Grigor: Catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian, *Colophons of Manuscripts* (in Armenian), Antilias, 1951, cols. 453-460. Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1635/125, Gospel of A.D. 1193 written at Skevra for Het'um and Nerses of Lambron: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts illustrated*, pp. 51-86, pls. xvi-xxxiii. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 538, Gospel of A.D. 1193 written at Katen for the bishop Karapet: S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxiv. 2. Lwów, Armenian Prelacy, Gospel of A.D. 1197-8 written by Grigor at Mlitj and Skevra for the priest Step'annos: N. Akinian, 'Das Skevra-Evangeliar vom Jahre 1197, aufbewahrt im Archive des armenischen Erzbistums

Lemberg', *Materialien zur Geschichte der armenischen Kunst, Paläographie und Miniaturmalerei*, ii, Vienna, 1930.

² For the Trebizond and Gagik Gospels see p. xxii, nn. 2 and 3. Gospel of A.D. 1066, Etchmiadzin, no. 369/311: G. Hovsep'ian, *Relics of the Past*, pp. 77-87; id., *Khaghbakians*, i, figs. 74-75; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 117-18, 122.

³ For references to the principal manuscripts of this period see H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *Hand List*, nos. 351, 358, 367, 370, 386, 394, 407, 414, 415, 418, 419, 421, 451, 459, and, in addition, G. Hovsep'ian, 'Constantine I Catholicos', *Materials and Studies*, ii, pp. 5-44, figs. 1-28; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pls. xxii. 2, xxv, xxvi. 2, xxvii. 1, xxviii-xxix.

⁴ W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig, 1913, pls. 33-36, 39; A. Saksian, *Pages d'art arménien* Paris, 1940, figs. 30-31.



Other motifs, ultimately derived from ancient oriental types known throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean world, are treated with the same elegance and thus differ from the earlier Armenian examples. Such are the birds or quadrupeds with interlocking necks or the animals attacking one another. The same remark holds true for the fantastic animals which were also in great favour among the Seljuk artists, for instance the griffons, sphinxes, human-headed birds, winged dragons with serpents' bodies, winged female centaurs, whose graceful forms appear in and around the Canon tables and headpieces.

New elements or new modes of representation show the influence of artistic worlds which the Armenians came to know during this period. Lions, with their manes rising in flame-like haloes and spirals covering their bodies and faces, recall Chinese examples; the birds are drawn with sweeping lines, their tails and wings swinging upwards like those of the Chinese flying cranes; the trees have gnarled and twisted trunks; the mount of a rider thrusts out its neck and head in the characteristic attitude of the water buffalo. The sinuous bodies of the animals in a hunting scene again remind us of Chinese paintings, and one of the riders wears a wide-brimmed hat like the hats of the Mongols.¹

Other motifs or ornaments are derived from the art of western Europe. The nude female figures with long cows' tails drawn next to a Canon table² find their closest parallels in Latin manuscripts of the Marvels of the East; they are the strange women who, according to these stories, lived near the Red Sea and had 'hair to their heels, boars' teeth, tails as of oxen, camels' feet'.³ Other nude figures who ride on a lion or a horse, and those who kneel at the foot of a tree or a floral motif, are comparable to the figures combined with the initials in Latin manuscripts or to those represented in metal works such as the Gloucester candlestick.⁴ The floral scrolls punctuated with human heads, or combined with them, seem closer in conception and execution to the Latin examples than to those of Muslim art, for instance to the letters terminating in human heads in the so-called animated Kufic script, or to the small figures with pointed bonnets which are drawn in the floral scrolls, although compositions similar to the Armenian examples may be seen on a few Muslim metal works of the thirteenth century.

The analysis of the component parts of all these ornaments reveals the diversity of the sources of inspiration, but the total effect is one of great unity, and the decorations are original creations which surpass in richness and variety the contemporary examples of the Christian East. The same composition is never repeated; even on the opposite pages of a manuscript the artists often introduce slight changes. They also display their imaginative powers in the numerous variations of the elegant marginal ornaments

¹ Etchmiadzin, nos. 1035 and 892/979: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 61-62, plate opp. p. 62, p. 65. MS. of Rashid al-Din: A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, vol. v, pl. 829.

² New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 740, Gospel of A.D. 1274: Belle da Costa Greene and Meta Harsen, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library*, New York, 1933-4, pl. 39; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxv. 2; F. Macler, 'Quelques feuillets

épars d'un tétraévangile arménien', *Revue des études arméniennes*, vi (1926), 169-76.

³ Montague Rhodes James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford, 1929, fol. 85a, pp. 39 and 58.

⁴ Etchmiadzin, no. 1035: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 59 and 62; Ph. Lauer, *Les enluminures romanes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1927, pl. xxxvi; A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1930, pls. 89, 95.

and of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic letters. The beauty of the designs, executed with the greatest precision, is enhanced by the harmony of the colours.

The painters of Cilicia display the same skill and originality in their figure representations. There are few miniatures in the older manuscripts, but the Gospels, Lectionaries, and Bibles of the thirteenth century are richly illustrated with full-page compositions, with miniatures introduced in the text or painted in the margins. The centre of this school appears to have been the patriarchal see of Hromkla, especially during the primacy of Constantine I, and among the artists known to us by name Kirakos and T'oros Roslin stand out as the leading painters,¹ though there are other equally gifted men whose names have unfortunately not been preserved.²

Byzantine iconography forms the basis of the Gospel illustration, but the Greek examples served as a guide which the Armenian painters felt free to modify. The changes sometimes consist in the addition of secondary figures; for instance, a group of servants standing behind the Magi in the scene of the Adoration, or a company of soldiers who accompany them on their way home.³ A prophet is occasionally introduced into the scene, and the words inscribed on his scroll help to emphasize the parallelism of the Old and New Testaments.⁴ Minor episodes replace at times the principal event or, being represented separately, are given greater prominence. Thus instead of the Betrayal we see Judas leading the Jews, or the young man who fled leaving his linen cloth behind him; instead of the healing of Jairus' daughter we see the servant running to tell his master that the young girl has died; the judgement of Pilate is preceded by a miniature representing Pilate's wife, waking from her sleep and sending a messenger to her husband.⁵ Familiar interpretations appear in other compositions: in the Entry into Jerusalem Christ has already entered the city and only the hind legs of the ass are visible inside the gate; in representations of the Jews paying the soldiers or giving the thirty pieces of silver to Judas, the Jews, seated on the ground, weigh the money like old merchants in a bazaar, while Judas carries in a cloth actual 'pieces of silver'.⁶

¹ For the manuscripts illustrated by Kirakos and T'oros Roslin see below pp. 29, 179–80.

² For instance the painters who illustrated the Gospels of Queen Keran and Prince Vasak (Jerusalem, nos. 2563 and 2568), and the Gospel of the Freer Gallery in Washington, no. 32.18.

³ Servants behind the Magi in Jerusalem, no. 251, fol. 15v.; Riders accompanying the Magi in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, fol. 19.

⁴ For instance in the Gospel of the Freer Gallery in Washington, no. 32.18, when Christ appears to the apostles after the Resurrection, a prophet holds a scroll with the words taken from Zechariah xiii. 6: 'these wounds . . . in (my) hands . . . with which I was wounded in the house of my friends' (S. Der Nersessian, 'Armenian Gospel Illustration as seen in Manuscripts in American Collections', *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, edited by M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren, Chicago, 1950, pl. vi). Next to the healing of the sick on p. 43 a prophet holds a scroll with the words of Isaiah: 'and with his stripes we are healed'; in the Mocking of Christ on p. 516 the words written

on the scroll held by Isaiah are: 'I hid not my face from shame and spitting' (Isa. i. 6). In the Entry into Jerusalem of the Gospel of the Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, a prophet holds a scroll with the words: 'Rejoice greatly O daughter' (Zech. ix. 9). Apart from the early Greek Gospels of Rossano and Sinope, where prophets are figured below or at the sides of the Gospel scenes, the only Byzantine example where a prophet is introduced into the composition appears in the Entry into Jerusalem of Berlin, qu. 66: G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris, 1916, p. 265, fig. 244.

⁵ Judas leading the Jews: Walters, no. 539, fol. 190, Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, p. 513. Young man fleeing: Walters, no. 539, cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Gospel Illustration*, pl. v. The servant of Jairus: Walters, no. 539, fol. 149. Pilate's wife: Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, p. 183.

⁶ Entry into Jerusalem: Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, p. 489: S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxix. 1. The Jews and soldiers, or the Jews and Judas: Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, pp. 168, 196.



The freshness of imagination which thus renewed a secular tradition is often accompanied by the liveliness of the style: the figures run swiftly, the sudden turns of the body and the billowing folds of the drapery accentuating the movement. The portraits of the Evangelists of Codex no. 558 (Pls. 14–17) show the fine balance of stylization and naturalism achieved by some Cilician painters. The solid, weighty figures are comfortably seated, the ample draperies are arranged according to a definite pattern, but the principal folds bring out the forms of the body; the faces, hands, and feet are delicately modelled, and the slight patterning of the areas of light and shade helps to enhance the expressive character. Other painters show greater interest in linear forms: the smooth surfaces of the garments contrast with the narrow pleats which are gathered between the limbs, or drawn tightly across them, and open at the ends like a fan.¹ They also exaggerate the sinuous contours of the body and give greater intensity to the gestures and expressions. The stylization is carried through to the landscape: the mountains are reduced to steep pinnacles, twisted into fantastic forms, with jagged contours and deep crags.²

The refined style of the thirteenth century can still be seen in some manuscripts of the early fourteenth century,³ but another trend, already noticeable in a number of works of the late thirteenth century,⁴ comes to the fore and prevails in the fourteenth century. Sargis Pidsak, represented in the present collection by Codices nos. 561, 613, and 614 (Pls. 19–23), is the best exponent of this style.⁵ In the numerous manuscripts illustrated by this prolific painter we no longer find the rich variety and elegance which characterized the ornamental compositions of the preceding period. There is a rigidity and a certain monotony in his decorations in spite of his real skill as a draughtsman. The principal motifs are the palmette, the rainbow motif and polychrome disks, simple geometric interlaces or cartouches of floral interlaces, and a few animal forms and sirens (Pls. 19, 22–23). The scale of the individual elements is much larger, thus diminishing the possibilities of different combinations.

The detailed narrative cycle and the novel interpretations of the Gospel scenes have also disappeared. The major episodes of the life of Christ, sometimes represented in full-page miniatures or grouped on a single page, are generally simplified and composed with a marked interest in symmetry. The marginal miniatures, reduced to one or two figures, are frequently combined with the floral designs, a figure in bust being drawn above the ornament.⁶ A comparison of the portraits of the Evangelists in the

¹ Jerusalem, no. 2563, Gospel of Queen Keran, A.D. 1272; Jerusalem, no. 2568, Gospel of Prince Vasak. The names of the painters are not known. Cf. Buchthal and Kurz, *Hand List*, nos. 418 and 419.

² See especially the Transfiguration in Jerusalem, no. 2563: Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, ii, opp. p. xviii.

³ In the Canon tables of Jerusalem, no. 2566, Gospel of A.D. 1301, in Jerusalem, no. 1946, A.D. 1310, and especially in Jerusalem, no. 1950, illustrated in 1316 by the scribe Levon Lazrtsi with rich Canon tables, headpieces, the portraits of the Evangelists, and a bishop (the owner of the manuscript) kneeling before Christ.

⁴ Erivan, no. 211, Gospel written for the Constable Smbat (†1276); the new style appears in the miniatures but not the ornaments: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp.

53–55; id., 'Iskusstvo knigi v drevnei Armenii', *Iskusstvo*, 1940, fasc. 2, p. 54; G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts T'ar*, fig. 33. Psalter of Leo III, A.D. 1283: H. Habeschian, 'Ein im Auftrage des Königs Leo III. abgeschrieben Psalterium', *Materialien zur Geschichte der armenischen Kunst, Paläographie und Miniaturmalerei*, i (in Armenian), Vienna, 1922. Etchmiadzin, no. 5784/1030, Gospel of A.D. 1293: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 69–70.

⁵ For a fuller discussion of the art of Sargis Pidsak see S. Der Neressian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 137–66, pl. LXVI–CII. Several manuscripts, not mentioned in this study, are listed in the Catalogue: Codex no. 561, p. 37, note 2.

⁶ S. Der Neressian, op. cit., pls. LXXXVI–XCIII.

Gospels nos. 561, 614, and 558 (Pls. 20, 22–23, 14–17) will clearly show the differences in style. The work of Sargis is very easily recognizable: the rather heavy figures stand or sit in rigid attitudes; dark lines and deep shadows outline the features; the large ears look like shells; the feet form a wide rectangle awkwardly attached to the thin ankles. The precision of the line, the bright colours among which red is frequently used, give, however, a definite quality to his paintings, even though they cannot compare with those of the thirteenth century.

Sargis Pidsak was held in high esteem by his contemporaries; his reputation had gone beyond the limits of Cilicia, and his miniatures were acquired by men living in different parts of Armenia. The portraits of the Evangelists painted by Sargis were taken to the province of Taron in 1312 and placed in a Gospel written there; other miniatures, including his own portrait, were added to a Bible written in Erzinjan in 1338.¹

In the fourteenth century the influence of Cilician painting spreads to the different provinces of Great Armenia. The cultural and artistic centre at this time was the monastery of Gladzor, situated in the Vayots dzor, a district in the south-western part of Siunik'. Students and scribes came there from all the provinces to study with the famous abbot, Esayi Ntchetsi.² Among these scribes there were men who had already been trained in Cilicia, and through their personal example, as well as through the manuscripts which had been sent as gifts by the kings and prelates of Cilicia, the Cilician style became known and was imitated by some of the painters of Siunik'. This influence is noticeable in the work of T'oros of Taron, the leading scribe of Gladzor, especially in his ornamental compositions, in his use of the symbol of the Evangelist for the first initial of each Gospel instead of the ornate letters preferred by earlier artists of this region.³ However, in the miniatures T'oros remains faithful to the traditions of Great Armenia. The figures are more stylized than those of Cilician manuscripts, the illustration is restricted to the major episodes of the Gospel, represented in full-page miniatures, and we find some of the iconographic variants introduced in the thirteenth century by the painters of Great Armenia. T'oros shows, for instance, in a separate composition, the soldiers seated around the sarcophagus, as the painter Ignatios had done in his Gospel of A.D. 1236,⁴ or he represents contemporary figures next to the Canon tables. In one of his manuscripts the abbot of Gladzor, Esayi Ntchetsi, is figured on one page, and on the opposite page we see the scribe himself

¹ Jerusalem, no. 1949, Gospel of A.D. 1312. Sargis has written his name under the portraits of Matthew and Luke. Etchmiadzin, no. 359/2627, Bible of A.D. 1338: Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 75.

² S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 5–6, and especially G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, ii, 189–280.

³ For the works of T'oros see G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., ii, 225–39 and S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., pp. 110–36. To the manuscripts of T'oros listed, *ibid.*, pp. 110–11, the following should be added: Hartford Sem. Found., no. 3, Gospel begun in 1307 and completed in 1331 at Eghegis for Hohannes Orbelian: S. Der Nersessian, 'Western Iconographic Themes in Armenian Manuscripts', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1944,

p. 80, fig. 4, and p. 82, fig. 5; Etchmiadzin, no. 6289, Gospel of A.D. 1323, written for Esayi Ntchetsi: G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, ii, figs. 215–19; Etchmiadzin, no. 505/560, Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1325; Bible of A.D. 1327–8 and Gospel of A.D. 1330, formerly at Baghesh; Etchmiadzin, no. 2239/2187, Sermons, A.D. 1346; *ibid.*, ii, pp. 236–7 and 239; Aleppo, no. 110, *Tagharan*, not dated. A New Testament written at Mush in 1284, Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1444/193, has also been assigned to T'oros by H. Kurdian, *T'oros of Taron* (in Armenian), New York, 1943, pp. 4–8, but the reasons given are not sufficiently valid.

⁴ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pl. 11, fig. 112; H. Kurdian, *The Miniaturist Ignatios*, fig. 22.



writing on a large sheet of paper propped against his knees.¹ Iconographic themes of Western origin occasionally appear in the works of T'oros, such as the crowned Virgin nursing the child, the Tree of Jesse, the seven days of the Creation, figured in small medallions which fill the vertical band of the initial of the Book of Genesis. These were probably directly inspired by Latin manuscripts rather than transmitted by Cilician models, for they do not occur in the Cilician manuscripts known so far, or when they do appear, like the Tree of Jesse, they follow a different type.²

The work of T'oros is not represented in the Chester Beatty Collection, but the continued influence of this master may be seen in a Gospel of the sixteenth century, Codex no. 568, some of the miniatures of which copy the compositions of T'oros (Pl. 42).

Until recent years T'oros of Taron was the only artist of Siunik' to be known, but the manuscripts illustrated by several other painters such as Sargis, Momik, Kirakos of Tabriz, Mkhit'ar of Ani, and especially the deacon T'oros and Avag, throw new light on the art of the province of Siunik' and of the neighbouring regions beyond the borders of Armenia.

Two leaves which originally belonged to a Gospel illustrated in A.D. 1311 by the deacon T'oros (who is not to be confused with T'oros of Taron) are now in the Beatty Collection, listed as Codex no. 559 (Frontispiece). Four other miniatures—the Ascension, the Pentecost, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the portrait of the painter presented to Christ by the Virgin—had previously been reproduced by Macler;³ on the basis of the figure style we can now add to this group four miniatures in the collection of Mr. Bernard Berenson, representing the prophet Isaiah, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Annunciation, and the Nativity. This partial reconstruction of ten out of the original eighteen compositions gives us the beginning and end of the 'Feast' cycle—from the Annunciation to the Dormition—plus two Old Testament scenes, two others connected, as we shall see, with the Second Coming of Christ, and, finally, the Dedication scene. The missing miniatures must have comprised several of the scenes between the Nativity and the Ascension, but even in this fragmentary state the manuscript illustrated by the deacon T'oros, the only work by him known so far, is of great importance. It gives us one of the early stages in the development of the Gospel cycle, and the new themes or the new interpretations which we find in some of these miniatures prove that the artists of Great Armenia were not all conservative men who repeated, with few changes, the compositions painted by their elders.

The Sacrifice of Isaac, the symbolic image of Christ's Passion, represented at the beginning of the Gospel manuscripts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and omitted in the following centuries, reappears in the fourteenth century, as we can see from the miniature in the Berenson Collection and from a slightly earlier example.⁴ The second

¹ G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, ii, fig. 212.

² S. Der Nersessian, *Western Iconographic Themes*, pp. 71-94.

³ F. Macler, *Documents d'art arménien*, Paris, 1924, pls. xcix-c. See below, p. 31, for the dating of the manuscript.

⁴ The old examples are: Etchmiadzin, no. 229, Gospel of A.D. 989; Jerusalem, no. 2555; Vienna,

Mekhitharist Library, no. 697. Among the Gospels of the 14th century, the earliest example known to me is in a manuscript dated 1304-5, Oxford, Bodleian, d.3: A. Baumstark, 'Der Bilderschmuck eines armenischen Evangelienbuches vom Jahre 1305', *Oriens Christianus*, xxxv. 2 (1939), 214-24. The order of the folios is disturbed and the composition is now on fol. 12v. instead of being at the beginning.

Old Testament scene in the Berenson Collection, a simplified version of the first vision of Isaiah, is more unusual: an angel flies down and places the live coal on the prophet's lips, but the text written on the scroll held by Isaiah does not give the words uttered by the angel, it reproduces instead the famous prophecy: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel, which means the Lord is with us' (vii. 14).

From a very early period on, the Greek Church Fathers had seen in the live coal an image of the Incarnation.¹ This interpretation was also known to the Armenians; they found it, for instance, in their translation of the scholia of Cyril of Alexandria, who wrote: 'and we declare the coal to fulfil for us the type and image of the incarnate word'.² By reproducing the prophecy of Isaiah on the scroll our painter has clarified and emphasized for the readers this symbolism of the live coal.

The two miniatures, symbolizing the Incarnation and the Passion, present a summary of the entire 'economy of Salvation', developed in the Gospel scenes which follow. The Deesis (Frontispiece) (discussed in the Catalogue)—which represents Christ come for Judgement³—and the Resurrection of the Dead must have come after the Gospel cycle. The second of these scenes, reproduced by Macler,⁴ is again most unusual. A ciborium-like construction rests on a high mound in which are buried the dead, in three rows of three tombs each; three seraphim appear in the sky and three angels, blowing trumpets, fly towards the mound. A young man, probably the painter, kneels in the foreground.

The explanation of this composition must be sought in the Book of Revelation. The dead lying in their tombs under the ciborium are those whom John saw 'under the altar' after the opening of the fifth seal; they are 'the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held' (vii. 9). Seven angels sounding their trumpets appeared when all the seven seals had been opened, while there are only three in the miniature. The painter may have wished to represent the three angels who announced that the hour of judgement had come (xiv. 7), in order to recall the words heard at that moment: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them' (xiv. 3). If this interpretation is correct, the comfort of the approaching judgement is thus suggested to the dead lying under the altar, who cried: 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on earth?' (vii. 10).

To these elements directly inspired by the Apocalypse are added the seraphim from

¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Isaiam*, i, Orat. iv: Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, lxx. 181. Basilius, *In Jesaiam*, vi. 184, ed. Pietro Trevisan (Corona Patrum Salesiana), vol. v, p. 147. See also the explanations in the Greek Menaea on 2 February and 23 December. The simplified composition of the vision occurs also in a few Byzantine examples, and in one instance the angel is substituted for the seraph: Mount Athos, Vatopedi, Cod. 760, cf. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, fig. 139. An entirely different type has been represented by the Armenian scribe Avag as the frontispiece of the Book of Isaiah in a Bible illustrated, in part, in 1338. According to the description given by the catholicos Garegin I

Hovsep'ian ('Mkhit'ar of Ani', *Hask*, i, p. 206), 'the Holy Trinity figures in the centre; the Holy Ghost is drawn with red lines, and the Son is seated on the cherubic throne with the six-winged seraphim at the four corners. The seraph on the lower left side approaches, with the tongs, the live coal to the lips of the standing prophet.'

² F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter*, London, 1907, pp. 103-4 and 177.

³ See below, pp. 31-33.

⁴ F. Macler, *Documents d'art arménien*, pl. c, fig. 253.



the vision of Isaiah, who are also figured in the Deesis. The two compositions must be considered together and may even have been on opposite pages: one of them announcing the Judgement, the other showing the appearance of the Judge. We have no way of knowing whether or not the actual Judgement figured among the lost miniatures, but these two scenes already give us part of an eschatological cycle which will be further developed in the following centuries. However, the actual compositions themselves were never repeated, to my knowledge, and these original creations of the deacon T'oros also differ from all other illustrations of the Apocalypse, both in the Christian East and in the Western world.

The work of the painter Avag, who was active between the years 1329 and 1358, principally at Sultaniya, the newly founded capital of the Ilkhans, shows some stylistic and iconographic similarities with the paintings of the deacon T'oros.¹ Avag was, however, much more influenced by the art of Cilicia. He sometimes illustrates the Gospel story in great detail, and the miniatures introduced into the text repeat the compositions of the Cilician manuscripts of the thirteenth century. He also imitates occasionally the elegant and lively style of the Cilician painters as well as the rich ornamental designs painted by them. Codex no. 572 (Pls. 44-45), which was directly copied in 1574 from one of the manuscripts of Avag, gives only a faint idea of the style of this gifted painter in whose works the traditions of Great Armenia and of Cilicia are skilfully blended.

Although Avag resided in Persia he was hardly influenced by the art of that country, and this is particularly surprising when we consider the work of Mkhitar of Ani, with whom he collaborated many a time. Mkhitar imitated so faithfully the Persian paintings of the Mongol period that, were his miniatures separated from the Gospel text, one would never suspect that they have been painted by an Armenian.²

Political events once more interrupted the activities of the monasteries of Siunik' and neighbouring regions. Relations with the Mongols had already deteriorated when the latter adopted the Muslim religion, and the general situation became far worse after the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335. The rivalries between the leaders of different Mongol tribes, the revolts of local rulers caused constant struggles of which Armenia was often the battlefield. These were followed by the terrific ravages of Tamerlane and, after his death, by the wars between the Turkoman tribes of the 'White' and the 'Black Sheep'. Monasteries and churches were destroyed, priests and monks persecuted, many of them suffering martyrdom in defence of their faith; the heads of the feudal families were killed or carried into captivity and their possessions appropriated by the conquerors. It is not surprising that under these conditions no work of any importance should have been produced in the northern provinces, and the major

¹ For the work of Avag see: G. Hovsep'ian, 'Mkhitar of Ani, scribe and painter', *Hask*, i (1948), 192-219, where most of the miniatures of the Gospel of Jerusalem, no. 1941, are reproduced; Etchmiadzin, nos. 99 and 6230: id., *Khaghbakians*, ii. 243-6, figs. 227-8. Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 96-101, erroneously considers Avag as a native of Crimea, while we can see from the colophons of the manuscripts that he came from Mushaghbiur, a locality in the western section of the Vayots dzor, in the province of Siunik'. Two

manuscripts of Avag, not mentioned in the above studies, should be added to the list: Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 935/8, Bible of the year 1341: *Pazmaveb*, Venice, 1935, nos. 9-12, p. 362, fig. 30, and Brit. Mus. Or. 5304, New Testament, without date. The name of the scribe Avag is written at the end of the letter of Eusebius and his style is unmistakable; thus the date of 15th century given by Conybeare (*Catalogue*, pp. 27-28) should be corrected to the 14th century.

² Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 104-5.



scriptoria are to be found henceforth in the relatively more peaceful regions around Lake Van.

The manuscripts illustrated in this area can be roughly divided into two groups. The first, which we may call the 'Van school', comprises the works executed at Van, Aght'amar, and in the monasteries along the northern and eastern shores of Lake Van; the second, which may be called the 'Khizan school', comprises the manuscripts written at Khizan, south of Lake Van, and in the neighbouring canton of Mok's.

The paintings of the Van school have the more conservative character.¹ In keeping with the practice introduced in Great Armenia during the fourteenth century, the major episodes of the life of Christ, grouped in a multiple frontispiece, are preceded by symbolical scenes of the Old Testament, and they are followed by representations connected with the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgement. However, the Old Testament scenes are not those which we saw in the Gospel illustrated by the deacon T'oros. The Sacrifice of Isaac is rarely represented,² and the portrait of Isaiah does not occur in any of the known examples; we find instead the Vision of Ezekiel as the symbol of the Second Coming, and the Tree of Jesse as the symbol of the Incarnation.

The Vision of Ezekiel had been included in the Bibles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a direct illustration of the book of this prophet. The composition adopted by the Van school, and by other painters working in different regions, is derived from the iconographic type used by Avag.³ Christ is enthroned in the innermost part of three concentric circles which represent 'the wheel within the wheel'; the tetramorphs are drawn in the diagonal axes, or at right angles to one another, their bodies awkwardly cut by the second circle and their wings projecting beyond the outer circle. Ezekiel lies in the foreground, by the banks of the river Chebar, and the open scroll is held by a hand emerging from under the outermost circle.⁴

The Tree of Jesse differs both from the composition represented by T'oros of Taron and from the marginal miniatures of the Cilician manuscripts. The tree, coming out of Jesse's side, separates at the top into two branches which frame the bust figures of the Virgin and Child; six ancestors stand one above the other next to the trunk of the tree, while the others are represented in bust under small arches or inside small medallions which cover the entire field.⁵

At the end of the Gospel cycle we find, almost invariably, the image of the Second Coming of Christ or Christ in Glory on the Cross (Pl. 54a). This composition is based on the text of Matthew xxiv. 30-31: 'And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man

¹ For a partial list of manuscripts written at Van and vicinity see Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pp. 4-II.

² S. Der Nersessian, 'An Armenian Gospel of the Fifteenth Century', *The Boston Public Library Quarterly*, Jan. 1950, pp. 6-7.

³ Erivan, no. 4429, A.D. 1338: Christ is enthroned in a mandorla, the tetramorphs are placed at right angles to one another, diagonal lines project from the innermost circle like the spokes of a wheel. Ezekiel lies prostrate by the river Chebar, opposite him is the open scroll, suspended in mid-air. This composition differs from the earlier type represented in a Bible

written at Erzinjan in 1269, Jerusalem, no. 1925: Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, ii, p. 164.

⁴ See pl. 52a for a later example of the same type. Earlier examples in Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Boston, no. 1327, A.D. 1475; S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, fig. 1; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542.

⁵ Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 280/10, Bible illustrated by Mkrtitch Naghach in A.D. 1418-22, the miniature is placed at the beginning of the Gospel cycle: *Keghouni*, Venice, 1947, p. 22; Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Boston, no. 1327, A.D. 1475; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542.



in heaven . . . and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.' A large ornate cross, 'the sign of the Son of man', is raised on a pedestal; the 'Son of man', usually the youthful beardless Christ, appears in a medallion at the intersection of the arms of the cross, and four trumpeting angels fill the spaces between the arms of the cross. The donors of the manuscript, and sometimes the scribe, kneel at the foot of the cross.¹ This representation is a development of the simpler marginal miniature of some Cilician manuscripts, where the large cross and a throne or altar are drawn inside an aureole held by angels.²

The Last Judgement usually occupies the opposite page (Pl. 54*b*). The Deesis forms the central group, as in the Byzantine representations, but Christ or, more often, the Ancient of Days is seated on the tetramorphic throne. The remaining parts of the composition also differ from the Byzantine examples. The apostles, having in their midst, in the most prominent place, St. Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church, stand in the second zone. The scales hang from the narrow band below the apostles; one of the trays rests on the back of a demon, and angels pierce with their lances the demons who try to lower the other tray. Other demons carry on their back loads which are designated as 'sins'. This typically Armenian version of the Last Judgement will continue to be represented until the end of the seventeenth century,³ though in certain schools the Byzantine type is preferred.

Connexions with the art of Cilicia may be seen in the marginal miniatures of some Gospels,⁴ in the iconography of the Gospel scenes, and to a certain extent in the figure style. In the paintings of Minas, in those of Karapet of Berkri, well-known artists of the fifteenth century, the tall and slender figures, with the draperies pleated into narrow folds, imitate in a more rigid manner the representations of the Cilician artists.⁵ The work of the scribe Parsam, who illustrated Codex no. 567, shows a further step in the stylization of the figures; the main appeal of these miniatures resides in their rich colouring and in the decorative effects of the compositions (Pls. 38–39).

The Khizan school is exceptionally well represented in the present Collection.⁶ The

¹ Earlier examples in Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 749, A.D. 1461; Boston, no. 1327, A.D. 1475 (S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 7); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 540, A.D. 1475; Oxford, Bodleian e. 1, A.D. 1497; Chester Beatty, no. 567, fol. 10v.; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542; Paris Syr. 344: Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl. xxvii, fig. 61; Sevadjan, no. 1: Macler, *Documents*, pl. xxvi, fig. 57; Gospel of Khorodik, *ibid.*, pl. lII, fig. 112.

² Venice, 1635, Gospel of A.D. 1193: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens*, pl. xxx; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, Gospel of A.D. 1262, fol. 104.

³ Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Boston, no. 1327, A.D. 1475: S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, figs. 7 and 8; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 540, A.D. 1475; Oxford, Bodleian e. 1, A.D. 1497; Chester Beatty, no. 567, fol. 11; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542; Par. Syr. 344: Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl.

xxvii, fig. 62; Sevadjan, no. 1: Macler, *Documents*, pl. xxv, fig. 56; Gospel of Khorodik; *ibid.*, pl. lII, fig. 113. A. Baumstark, 'Die karolingisch-romanische Maiestas Domini und ihre orientalischen Parallelen', *Oriens Christianus*, xxiii (1927), 242–60.

⁴ S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, pp. 13–14.

⁵ F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pls. xvi–xix.

⁶ The following manuscripts are written at Khizan or are connected with the Khizan school: nos. 555 (new part), 565, 566, 573, 574, 576, 592, 593, 599. For other manuscripts of the Khizan school see G. Hovsep'ian, 'A Page from the Artistic History of Khizan' (in Armenian), *Hayastanyaitz Yegehetzy*, New York, vi. 1 (1944), 7–27; E. Nykolskaia, 'Illüstratsyy rukopisei mastera Ovanesa iz Gizana', *Mystetstvoznavstvo-Zbirnyk*, i, Kharkov, 1928–9, pp. 37–52, pls. XLVII–LI; H. Kurdian, 'An Important Armenian MS. from A.D. 1330', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1939,

paintings of these manuscripts, especially those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are much more interesting, and some of the miniaturists were men of real ability who created highly original compositions.

The multiple frontispiece of the Gospels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries begins with the symbolic scenes of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Tree of Jesse;¹ the Vision of Ezekiel is hardly ever represented. The eschatological cycle, though greatly developed in some manuscripts, rarely includes the Last Judgement² or the ornate cross with the image of Christ and the trumpeting angels; we find instead Christ enthroned on the tetramorphs.³ The painters of Khizan love to dwell on the joys of the righteous in paradise and the torments of the sinners in hell. These are first shown by means of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, sometimes also by the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Pl. 48b).⁴ In the images of Paradise and Hell the apostles are gathered before Christ; the archangels Michael and Gabriel stand in the foreground, or Gabriel sounds the trumpet and the sinners are swallowed by monsters (Pl. 48a). The contrast between the rewards and punishments is shown in other miniatures where the apostles are seated with Christ around a table, or Christ blesses Peter and Paul, while below the sinners are subjected to various torments (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543, foll. 13v., 14). The punishment of the wicked sometimes fills the entire page: serpents coil around the bodies of the damned, who stand in the black abyss, at the sides of the river of fire.⁵

Important differences from the manuscripts illustrated in other parts of Armenia appear also in the Gospel cycle, which includes several miracles, and in the iconography of some of the scenes.

The miracles most commonly represented are the Healing of the Paralytic (Pl. 33a) and the Marriage at Cana.⁶ The latter presents us with an interesting example of the intrusion of secular elements into a religious composition. The scene is sometimes developed on two pages, more often it is represented on a single page separated into two parts (Pl. 33b): in the upper half Christ is seated, accompanied by one or two apostles

pp. 604-6, pls. XII-XIII; Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 107-16.

¹ See Codex no. 566 and other examples listed on p. 55, note 3.

² A partial representation of the Last Judgement occurs in the Gospel of Etchmiadzin, no. 754, written at Khizan in 1417. The page is divided into two registers; in the upper part an angel points to the scales hanging from the frame, demons push the scales from above and below; a man kneeling on the right is probably the owner of the manuscript. In the lower half serpents coil around nude men painted against a black background: Nykolskaia, op. cit., p. 42.

³ See Codices nos. 565 and 566 and other examples listed on pp. 48 n. 5, 6, 49 n. 1, 2, 53.

⁴ For other examples of these two scenes see pp. 53, 83, 85.

⁵ For other examples of these scenes see pp. 47-9, 53, 80, 83, 85.

⁶ See pp. 47-8, 52, 55, 80, 82, 84, 126 for other examples. In some Gospels we also find other miracles: the Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain (Paris, Arm.

333, A.D. 1335); the Healing of the Demoniac and the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Aleppo, no. 33, A.D. 1338); Christ walking on the Waters (Aleppo, no. 33; Jerusalem, nos. 2663 [A.D. 1414], 2784 [A.D. 1434], and 2569 [A.D. 1577-9]). In Greek and other manuscripts of the Christian East the miracles are included in the narrative cycles, or they appear in Lectionaries whenever miracles are celebrated on a special feast-day. The prominence given to the miracles in the Khizan manuscripts, where they are ranked with the important scenes from the life of Christ, is quite exceptional. As parallel examples we may mention two Georgian Gospels. In the Gospel of the monastery of Djruçi, dated A.D. 936-40, full-page miniatures of the Healing of the Blind Man, of the Demoniac and the Paralytic, face the portraits of Mark, Luke, and John (Amiranashvili, *Istoriia gruzinskogo iskusstva*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 199-201, pl. 92). In another Georgian Gospel of the 11th-12th century, the Healing of the Blind Man and of the Paralytic are included in the cycle of selected scenes from the life of Christ (Amiranashvili, op. cit., p. 205, pl. 94).



and occasionally by the Virgin, and He blesses the cup presented to Him by the master of the feast. In the lower half the bridegroom, crowned and dressed in rich robes, sits aloof on one side holding a handkerchief, a sword, or a fan, while the guests, seated on the ground, partake freely of the refreshments and sometimes listen to a musician. In the true Oriental fashion, followed also at this time in Armenia, the bride is never present, and the exclusion of all the female participants is sometimes extended even to the Virgin.¹

There is no connexion whatsoever between these compositions and the traditional iconography with which the Armenian artists were familiar. Only the raised hand of Christ recalls the miracle; the six stone jars, usually drawn in a narrow band, are treated as a decorative element and we rarely see the servant pouring water into them. The emphasis is entirely on the festivity, and we are reminded of the banqueting or court scenes so frequently represented in Islamic manuscripts.²

The characteristic iconography of several other scenes is discussed in the Catalogue, in connexion with Codex no. 566; the most interesting innovation appears in the Baptism. An angel holding a bottle flies down and pours its contents; or else, kneeling, he looks up to the hand of God which seems to be blessing the bottle. The explanatory inscription reads: 'the bottle of oil', and it is clear that the miniaturists wished to represent the anointment as well as the baptism of Christ (Pl. 34b).³

In his catechetical orations Cyril of Jerusalem explains the symbolism of the confirmation by the chrism which, in the ritual of the baptism, replaced the ceremony of the laying of hands. The chrism, given after the baptism, is the symbol of the Holy Ghost which anointed Christ.⁴ In his scholia, translated into Armenian, Cyril of Alexandria devotes an entire chapter to the explanation of the anointment. The Son 'is anointed in human wise like us with the praise of sinlessness. There having been made illustrious in him man's nature, having become worthy of the portion of anointing of the holy Spirit. . . . He is anointed in human wise according to the flesh but anoints in divine wise with his own spirit them that in him have believed.'⁵

These ideas, expressed also by other Church Fathers, had been translated into pictorial form in the art of western Europe where the dove of the Holy Ghost sometimes pours the contents of a beaker over the head of Christ.⁶ The painters of Khizan

¹ The Marriage at Cana is represented in: Chester Beatty, nos. 565, 566, and 574; Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 754; Nykolskaia, op. cit., pl. L and p. 42; New York, Kevorkian Collection, nos. 10 and 11: Hovsep'ian, op. cit., fig. 1; Jerusalem, nos. 2569 and 2663; Aleppo, nos. 33 and 44; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543. The secular character is much more marked than in the Syriac Lectionaries of the 13th century: J. de Jerphanion, *Les Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, pl. x, no. 19; H. Buchthal, 'The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art', *Syria*, xx (1939), pl. xxii. 1.

² Paris, arab. 5847: see H. Buchthal, l. c. in *Syria*, xx (1939), pl. xxii. 2; A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, vol. v, pl. 861A, 909B; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia . . .*, pl. 47.

³ This typical detail appears also in a number of other Gospels. New Julfa, no. 481, A.D. 1330: H. Kur-

dian, *An Important Armenian MS.*, pl. xiiia; Paris, Arm. 333, A.D. 1335; Aleppo, no. 33, A.D. 1338; Etchmiadzin, no. 1090, A.D. 1404; Nykolskaia, op. cit., p. 41; Jerusalem, no. 2784; A.D. 1434; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291, A.D. 1450; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543, A.D. 1455.

⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xxxiii. 1089a; Joseph Turmel, *Histoire des dogmes*, Paris, 1936, vol. v, pp. 187-92.

⁵ F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version of Revelation*, p. 170. See also M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium*, Paris, 1935, vol. v, p. 642; P. G. Amaduni, 'Testi vari di diritto canonico armeno', *Congregatio pro ecclesia orientali. Codificazione canonica orientale: Fonti*, Vatican City, 1932, fasc. vii, pp. 75 and 139.

⁶ J. Strzygowski, *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, Munich, 1885, pl. viii. 1 and 3. A curious parallel of our Baptism may be seen in the manuscript of Rashid

adopted a different interpretation; the anointment is performed by an angel, perhaps in imitation of the baptism ritual when the priest, after preparing the oil, prays 'for the descent into this holy oil of the grace of the all-powerful holy Spirit' and pours some of it into the font.¹

As in other manuscripts of the period, the Magi, the children in the Entry into Jerusalem, and other secondary figures wear the contemporary secular dress; the saints are also occasionally dressed in this manner. Except for his crown the portrait of St. Sargis (Pl. 31a) is identical with that of the donor of a Gospel, a young nobleman armed with a mace, carrying a quiver filled with arrows attached to his belt, and riding proudly on his horse.² The armour and the dress follow the Mongolian fashions adopted by the Armenians, and these portraits recall the representations of riders in Islamic manuscripts, for instance those who are figured in a Treatise on Military Horsemanship by Mohammed Ibn Issa Ismail Ibn Hanafi, in the Chester Beatty Collection, dated A.H. 767 (A.D. 1365-6).

The imitation of contemporary dress is carried even farther by two outstanding artists of the fifteenth century, Khatchatur and Mkrtitch, who probably illustrated Codex no. 566.³ Instead of the usual classical costume, Christ occasionally wears a tight-fitting tunic which comes below the waist, a belt decorated with round metal disks, wide trousers, and high yellow boots, their soles studded with nails (Pl. 36a).⁴ Moses and Elijah, Pilate, Abraham, Adam, and sometimes the apostles, are dressed in the same manner; the wide trousers and high boots can be seen under the tunic of the archangel Gabriel, and the Virgin also wears these nail-studded boots (Pl. 34a).

We had occasion to refer to Muslim works in discussing the composition of the Marriage at Cana and in mentioning the secular costume worn by some of the saints, the Magi, or other secondary figures. Connexions with Islamic art also appear in the style of these miniatures. In the manuscripts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the short heavy figures, with round faces (Pls. 27 and 33), recall the paintings of the so-called Baghdad school and, better still, those of a number of manuscripts of the Ilkhanid period.⁵

The Persian influence is less obvious in the works of Khatchatur and Mkrtitch. The slender proportions of the figures may be partly due to the changes which take place in the art of the Timurid period, but whereas in the Persian miniatures the figures usually stand in graceful attitudes, those painted by Mkrtitch and especially by Khatchatur are often animated by lively movement. For instance, in the Harrowing of Hell Christ, striding forward, turns sharply back to seize Adam by the hand (Pl. 36a); in the Nativity the shepherd seems to be climbing up the rocky hill (Pl. 34a); a servant

al-Din in the University of Edinburgh; an angel, coming down from heaven, anoints Mahomet: Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, London, 1929, pl. LV.

¹ F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 95 and 104.

² New Julfa, no. 481: H. Kurdian, *An Important Armenian MS.*, pl. xii b.

³ Manuscripts illustrated by Khatchatur: Jerusalem, no. 2784, A.D. 1434; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543, A.D. 1455. Manuscript illustrated by Mkrtitch: Berlin, Or. Minut. 291, A.D. 1450.

⁴ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543: S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Gospel Illustration*, pl. vii; same costume in Berlin, Or. Minut. 291. In a Serbian manuscript of the 13th century, and in several Coptic works Christ and other Biblical figures also wear trousers. See A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris, 1928, pls. v. 1, vii. 2, ix, and pp. 105-6.

⁵ A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, v, pls. 826, 830-3, 837-8; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia*, pls. 15 and 16.

runs forward to pour the water on Pilate's hands. Expressive gestures accentuate the dramatic character: the Virgin bends in sorrow over the dead body of her Son (Pl. 35*a*); the servant woman points two long, accusing fingers at Peter; the rich man burning in hell points in the same way at Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; Malchus, with his mouth wide open, violently protests as Peter cuts his ear. Compositional devices stress the meaning or the intensity of some miniatures. In the Baptism a diagonal band, with sinuous contours, descends from the Hand of God and frames the figures of Jesus and John the Baptist (Pl. 34*b*); in the Harrowing of Hell a similar white area separates Christ and Adam from the black expanses of hell where the other dead stretch out their hands begging to be freed (Pl. 36*a*).

Acquaintance with Persian manuscripts influenced by Chinese art may perhaps explain the wavy and broken lines of these bands and the figuration of the cave of the Nativity (Pl. 34*a*). Other examples of Persian influence can also be discerned in the work of Khatchatur. But these foreign elements are thoroughly assimilated and re-translated, as it were, into an original style.

The works of Khatchatur and Mkrtitch, of the illustrators of Codex no. 599 and of the Gospel of Jerusalem no. 2663, mark a high point in the history of illumination in Khizan. Numerous manuscripts continued to be written in this general area, but most of them are either lost or inaccessible at present, and we cannot follow the artistic evolution step by step. When we can again study the products of the Khizan school, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we observe a notable change.¹

Two brothers, Martiros and Sargis, the sons of the scribe and painter Sargis, were the heads of an active scriptorium where they trained numerous scribes. Some pupils went later to different Armenian centres, thus spreading the influence of the Khizan school, and the masters themselves occasionally worked in other cities. For instance, Martiros was in Jerusalem in 1590-91 and again in 1596; he went to Constantinople that same year and there illustrated Codex no. 573.

Despite individual differences among the members of this scriptorium, there is a great unity in the manuscripts of the late Khizan school, and the pupils sometimes copy exactly the compositions of their masters. The Gospel cycle is modified, the characteristic compositions of the earlier Khizan school are often omitted, or they are represented side by side with the scenes common to the Van school. Thus we find the Vision of Ezekiel instead of the Sacrifice of Isaac;² the Last Judgement and Christ in Glory on the cross take the place of the scenes of Paradise and Hell,³ or they are added to these scenes.⁴ The traditional iconographic types are frequently used instead of the more original compositions of the earlier artists of Khizan. Finally, the figure style is much closer to that of the Van painters; the lively action has given place to static poses, the folds of the drapery form regular parallel bands, and simple symmetrical compositions are generally preferred (Pl. 46).

The connexions with the Van school may partly be explained by the fact that the

¹ The late school of Khizan is represented in this collection by Codices nos. 573, 574, 576, 592, 593.

² New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11, Jerusalem, nos. 2569, 2670.

³ Jerusalem, nos. 1944 and 1938, Gospels of A.D. 1589 and 1611; Gospel, property of Mr. Deyrmanjian

of New York, A.D. 1608; Last Judgement only in Chester Beatty, no. 573, and Jerusalem, no. 2625, Gospel of A.D. 1612-18.

⁴ Jerusalem, no. 2569; New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11.



father of the scribes Martiros and Sargis, who was also a painter, had been trained by an artist of Aght'amar;¹ moreover, the scribes of Khizan occasionally worked at Van and in the monasteries on the northern shores of Lake Van, and became acquainted with the models used there. It is also probably through their contacts with Armenian centres in other regions that the painters of Khizan came to know, directly or indirectly, the western European models which had spread throughout the East Christian world. In some of the compositions painted by the miniaturists of Khizan the action takes place in a room covered by a barrel vault drawn with a very clumsy attempt at perspective; the apostles sometimes kneel in the Ascension and the Pentecost, and in the Crucifixion Christ's feet are nailed with one nail.

The painters of the Khizan school also imitated occasionally the works of a much earlier period. There is a very interesting remark in the colophon of a Gospel illustrated by Martiros in A.D. 1577-9 (Jerusalem, no. 2569). He writes that he copied the text from a good and trustworthy model, as for the illustrations, he adds, 'I took them from different Gospels, and some I invented. For I collected four and five Gospels, some were from Sis, some from the eastern provinces'. The illustrations corroborate these remarks and in several instances we can point to the exact types which have been copied. The Annunciation, Presentation, and Ascension are derived from the compositions of the Gospel written for Queen Keran in A.D. 1272 (Jerusalem, no. 2563). Among the marginal vignettes we find seven out of the eight small miniatures painted in a Gospel of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; the Last Judgement repeats the unusual composition of a late twelfth century manuscript.²

Martiros was not the only one to imitate the Cilician models. His collaborator Khatchatur of Khizan, who was with him in Jerusalem in 1591 and illustrated a Menologium (Jerusalem, no. 1920), copied the representation of the Nativity from the Gospel of Queen Keran, even attempting to imitate the style and technique of the Cilician master. We can be sure in this case that the direct model was the Gospel of Queen Keran, for the manuscript was already in Jerusalem in the sixteenth century.

The activities of the Khizan scriptoria diminish after the first quarter of the seventeenth century, though the scribes continue to work in the neighbouring province of Mok's. The wars between the Turks and the Persians, the mass deportations carried out by Shah Abbas in 1604-5, caused havoc among the population. Those who could flee sought work elsewhere, many were carried by force to Persia, and others may have gone there attracted by the opportunities provided by wealthy patrons.

The most important settlement of the Armenians was in the suburbs of Ispahan, the new capital of Persia. Almost the entire population of the wealthy commercial city of Julfa, numbering about 2,000 families, was established south of the river Zinda-rūd, at a village which in memory of their former home the settlers called New Julfa. Shah Abbas granted them special privileges, and through their industry and enterprise the

¹ Sargis, the father of Martiros and Sargis, gives the information in the colophon of a Ritual written in A.D. 1526: *Srvandztian, T'oros Aghbar*, ii. 254; for the correct date see H. Oskian, *The Monasteries of Van*, vol. iii, p. 851. In 1553 Sargis painted the ornaments of a Gospel which was illustrated by Kirakos in 1623 (Jerus. no. 1594); his work is best seen in the Gospel

he illustrated in 1571 (Jerus. no. 868).

² Venice, no. 888; S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 96-99, pls. xxxviii-xxxix, figs. 78-83 and 85; the corresponding miniatures of Jerusalem, no. 2569 are on foll. 201, 207, 207v., 208, 209, 218, 267. The Last Judgement on fol. 122 repeats the composition of Venice, no. 141: *Pazmaveb*, 1935, p. 333, fig. 20.

Armenians of the New Julfa laid the foundations of Ispahan's great trade and wealth. In addition to the accounts of the contemporary Armenian historian Arak'el of Tabriz, to the long colophons of the manuscripts, a vast amount of information may be gleaned from the writings of the European travellers who visited Persia during the seventeenth century, in particular Herbert, Olearius, Tavernier, Chardin, Pietro della Valle, as well as from the records of the Catholic missions such as those of the Carmelites.

The mixed population of New Julfa included scribes who had been trained in different parts of Armenia. During the early period of the settlement the leading painter was Mesrop, the pupil of Martiros of Khizan and Sargis of Mok's, who brought to New Julfa the traditions of the late school of Khizan, as we can see from his Gospel of A.D. 1615 (Codex no. 576) and several other manuscripts which have survived. In the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century there developed at New Julfa an eclectic style in which the local traditions of different scriptoria merge together and are often superseded by the deliberate imitation of older works. The colophons added by later owners show that the wealthy merchants of New Julfa had brought with them or had acquired a number of fine manuscripts written in Cilicia or Great Armenia during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.¹ The ornamental designs of the sumptuous Gospels or Bibles illustrated by the new generation of painters often copy those of the Cilician manuscripts with the utmost fidelity, and only a certain rigidity of the line and the occasional inclusion of other motifs betray a later hand.² These scribes are less successful in their imitation of the figure style of the Cilician painters, and their attempts to give convincing form sometimes result in figures with bulging hips and swollen knees. A comparison of the miniatures of Codex no. 578, written at Ispahan in 1655, with the paintings of Mesrop or Martiros of Khizan will show, however, the changes which have taken place (Pls. 46-47, 52-54).

The more carefully modelled forms which the scribes of New Julfa had learnt to paint through the imitation of Cilician manuscripts also made them more receptive to European influence. Entire sets of compositions are reproduced with a skill which contrasts with the crude attempts made by Mesrop of Khizan and some of his contemporaries. These miniatures appear primarily in the Bibles; the scenes of the Creation, the episodes of the life of David and of Jonah, the illustrations of the Apocalypse, are based on the engravings of European Bibles.³ This is not an isolated phenomenon. We shall see that in other Armenian scriptoria as well the compositions of European Bibles were copied, and the spread of these models throughout the Near

¹ The following are some of the illustrated manuscripts which we know to have been at New Julfa in the 17th century: New Julfa, no. 27, Gospel illustrated in 1195 by Kostandin, probably at Skevra in Cilicia; Brit. Mus. Add. 18,549, Gospel illustrated in 1280 at Sis; Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 151 and New Julfa, no. 36, Gospels illustrated in Great Armenia in 1214 and 1236 by Ignatios; Brit. Mus. Add. 15,411, Gospel illustrated in 1321 at Gladzor by T'oros of Taron.

² See, for instance, Etchmiadzin, no. 189/167, Bible of A.D. 1649: Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 123.

³ Numerous Bibles were illustrated at Ispahan-New Julfa during the second and third quarters of

the 17th century; some of the most important are: New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 1, A.D. 1638; Jerusalem, no. 1933, A.D. 1645, no. 1934, A.D. 1641-6; Venice, no. 623/3, A.D. 1648; Etchmiadzin, no. 189/167, A.D. 1649; Etchmiadzin, Bibles of A.D. 1657, 1658, 1655-61, 1660, and 1663. In most of these some of the Old Testament illustrations and the miniatures of the Apocalypse are derived from European engravings. Other manuscripts which, on stylistic grounds, can be assigned to this region, are not included in the above list, since the place of origin is not mentioned in the colophon.

East is attested by the paintings of the Apocalypse in the monasteries of Mount Athos as well as by the miniatures in Greek and Russian manuscripts of this late period.¹

We cannot enter here into the discussion of these Biblical illustrations, nor try to determine the prototypes from which they proceed. The information available at present seems to indicate that there was an Armenian intermediary between the manuscripts of New Julfa and the European Bibles, and this intermediary may have been the Bible illustrated in Poland by the scribe Ghazar Baberdtsi.² We need only point here to the great popularity enjoyed by these copies of European models which, from the Bibles, passed to other types of manuscripts, as can be seen from the four scenes of the life of David represented in the Psalter no. 591 (Pl. 55). This manuscript is also an excellent example of the eclectic character of the art of New Julfa, since we find, next to these European compositions, other miniatures which imitate the representations of the Cilician painters.

The manuscripts of New Julfa are among the finest examples of this period, but those which were written in other Armenian centres show that there was a general revival in the seventeenth century. We shall only consider those scriptoria which are represented in the Chester Beatty Collection.

We have little information about the early work done at Amida, though we know that in the fifteenth century the scribes had enjoyed the protection of Mkrtitch Naghash, the poet and painter, who was the bishop of Amida.³ We are better acquainted with the artistic activities of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the prelacy of two learned men, Serapion of Edessa and his spiritual son Barsegh. The scribe Hohannes, who illustrated for Serapion of Edessa the Abridged Bible no. 551 (Pls. 49–50), was the leader of this school. This manuscript, as well as several others which have been preserved, show that, like the artists of New Julfa, Hohannes was also attracted by the earlier works of Cilicia and was very successful in his imitations of the decorative compositions as well as of the figure representations.⁴ The influence of Muslim manuscripts appears occasionally in some of the ornaments (Pl. 49), but in general Hohannes and his school retain the compositions of the Cilician painters. European models also seem to have been known at Amida, though the compositions of a Bible illustrated in 1622–31 by the scribes Minas and Mik'ayel, the pupils of Hohannes (Jerusalem, no. 2559), differ both from the engravings of the European Bibles and from the miniatures of the Bibles illustrated at Constantinople.⁵ But we can at least be sure

¹ J. Renaud, *Le cycle de l'Apocalypse de Dionysiou*, Paris, 1943; and H. R. Willoughby, *The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse*, Chicago, 1940, vol. i, Introduction by J. Renaud, pp. xxv–xxxviii.

² Etchmiadzin, no. 179/173, A.D. 1619. The only information available at present is that the miniatures are in the style of the Italian Renaissance and include the illustrations of the Apocalypse (Uvarov, *Sbornik*, i. 210). That this Bible may have served as a model to the artists of New Julfa is suggested by the fact that many of the Bibles reproduce the colophon of the scribe Ghazar Baberdtsi.

³ The work of Mkrtitch Naghash may be seen in the Bible of Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 280/10, which he illustrated in 1418–22: *Pazmaveb*, Venice, 1935,

nos. 9–12, fig. 33, and *Keghoumt*, 1947, p. 22.

⁴ For a fuller discussion of the work of Hohannes see pp. 5–7.

⁵ For brief descriptions and transcriptions of the colophons of manuscripts which were still at, or near, Amida in the late nineteenth century, see Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, ii. 380–488. In a Gospel written in 1634 the scribe states that he had previously illustrated for bishop Barsegh a Bible with 'gilt paintings of the Old and New Testaments, the Visions of the prophets, the scenes of the life of Christ' (ibid. 430–2). This Bible was sent to Jerusalem, and it is probably the one listed as no. 2559. Another Bible, illustrated by Minas, was offered to Etchmiadzin in A.D. 1683 (Karenian Cat., no. 168).



that a European artist resided for a while at Amida, since he illustrated in 1668 the first quire of the Gospel no. 581.

The Armenian community of Constantinople greatly increased after the establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate in 1461.¹ Armenian scribes had been at work there even during the Byzantine period, as may be seen from a Gospel written in A.D. 909,² but it is only after the fifteenth century that regular scriptoria were founded. Many of the scribes were natives of other cities and some sojourned in the capital for only a short time. We have already seen that Martiros of Khizan had worked there in 1596; before him, the bishop Zak'aria of Gnunik', well known as a poet and a painter, had spent some time in Constantinople. In 1544 Zak'aria copied and illustrated for the patriarch Astvadsatur the Romance of Alexander which is now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester.³

The works of the seventeenth century have the same eclectic character as those of New Julfa. The early Cilician manuscripts were also greatly prized at Constantinople and imitated by the scribes. Mik'ayel of Tokat, who illustrated Codex no. 577, even specifies in one instance that he was copying a model written at Sis in 1295.⁴ The ornamental compositions of the manuscripts written in Constantinople are often very rich and the headpieces take up more than half the height of the page (Pl. 56). Decorative motifs of a later date mingle with the elements borrowed from Cilician examples, and small medallions with the image of the Virgin and Child or other figures are sometimes introduced into the headpieces, as they had been by the painters of Great Armenia beginning with the fourteenth century.

The old Armenian custom of grouping the important scenes at the beginning of the Gospel manuscripts still prevails, though the cycle is often enlarged by the addition of secondary episodes. Western iconographic types are sometimes used as in other Armenian centres: for instance in the Resurrection Christ rises from the tomb holding a bannered cross, though we also find the Byzantine composition of the Harrowing of Hell. It was perhaps through the influence of Greek works which they could see in Constantinople that the scribes of Constantinople adopted the Byzantine type of Last Judgement—also known to the Cilician artists of the thirteenth century⁵—rather than the Armenian composition favoured by the painters of the Van school and by their followers.

Numerous vignettes are painted in the margins of the Gospels, as well as in the Bibles, Lectionaries, Menologiums, and Hymnals. These small compositions do not vary much from one manuscript to another, and they are a common feature of the work done in the seventeenth century in different centres.

The illustrated European Bible, directly or indirectly imitated by the painters of New Julfa, was also known in Constantinople. The model may have again been transmitted by the Armenians of Poland, for in a Psalter written at Constantinople in A.D. 1629 and illustrated by the deacon Hakob, a native of Lwów, the composition of Adam and Eve

¹ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, ii, col. 2153-8.

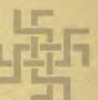
² Gospel formerly at Medsshén; written for the general Ashot by the scribe T'ut'ayel: Garegin I Hovsep'ian, *Colophons of Manuscripts*, col. 105-8.

³ Arm. MS. no. 3. A few of the miniatures are reproduced in G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, i, fig.

104-7.

⁴ See p. 92.

⁵ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539: S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxviii.



at the sides of the tree with the serpent, and the Destruction of the Walls of Jericho are identical with those miniatures in the Bibles of New Julfa.¹ But other Western cycles had also reached Constantinople. In the Bible of Jerusalem no. 1927, written in 1649 by the scribe Astvadsatur, the Genesis scenes grouped at the beginning, the Judgement of Solomon, the single miniature illustrating the Apocalypse—Christ enthroned, surrounded by the twenty-four elders and seven deacons—belong to a different tradition. Other types again appear in a handsome Bible completed in 1647. In this manuscript the New Testament scenes imitate not only the iconographic types but also the style and composition of Western models: the Baptism and the Marriage at Cana are figured in a landscape setting which extends far into the background, the table of the Last Supper is placed diagonally in the picture space as in the paintings of Tintoretto.²

A few words should also be said about the manuscripts written at Tokat, represented by Codices nos. 586, 603, 604 (Pls. 57, 62). The scribe Mkrtitch and his son Astvadsatur show greater skill in the ornamental compositions, in the fine designs of floral scrolls and the delicate linear interlaces, than they do in the figure representations. The full-page miniatures and the numerous marginal figures repeat the current types of the seventeenth century; the Western models do not seem to have enjoyed great popularity in this provincial town of Asia Minor. Their pupil Mik'ayel, son of the scribe Bargham, who worked at Tokat and Sebastia, was a more gifted painter. He sometimes repeats the ornamental compositions of his masters, but he also imitated the Cilician models of the thirteenth century. The most interesting example in this respect is the Gospel of the Freer Gallery, no. 36.15, written and illustrated at Sebastia in 1668–70. Mik'ayel specifies in the colophon that he copied the Gospel illustrated by T'oros Roslin in 1256; the skill with which he reproduced the Canon tables of his model can easily be seen, since this model is preserved, and is now at the Walters Art Gallery, no. 539.³

During this late period when the most active centres were in the colonies settled outside Armenia, when the scribes were no longer connected with monastic schools which had their own artistic traditions, the regional differences are no longer as sharply marked as in the preceding centuries. Despite the real skill displayed by some of the scribes and the fine quality of many a manuscript, we can see that the creative power has greatly diminished. Time and again the miniaturists turn to the earlier models, and when they wish to renew their repertory they imitate the engravings of European books. These foreign elements are no longer assimilated, as they had been in the creative periods of Armenian art, they are reproduced as faithfully as possible; this results in stylistic discrepancies between the different compositions within the manuscript and destroys the unity of the entire work.

In this general survey of Armenian illumination I have attempted to show the characteristic traits of the different schools and their connexions with one another. As one considers this long history one realizes that the high points of achievement coincide

¹ Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1238/43.

² Ibid., no. 1865: *Keghouni*, Venice, 1947, plate facing p. 18. See also the Judgement of Solomon reproduced in *Pazmaveb*, 1935, nos. 9–12, fig. 39.

³ The following manuscripts, signed by Mik'ayel,

were written at Tokat: Gospel, A.D. 1684, Jerusalem, no. 3144; Ritual, A.D. 1696, Jerusalem, no. 2285. A Menologium written at Etchmiadzin in 1698 by the scribe Grigor was illustrated by Mik'ayel at Tokat in 1700: Jerusalem, no. 1918.



with the periods of national independence. The finest works were produced in Armenia during the Bagratid rule from the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century; in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, especially in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and in Great Armenia again during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the northern and central provinces were governed by national leaders. Interesting and even original works also appear later, for instance at Khizan in the fifteenth century; handsome manuscripts were illuminated for some of the prosperous communities of the seventeenth century, but these are not truly creative periods comparable to the preceding.

Armenian illumination is basically a Christian and Mediterranean art developed in contact with the non-Christian civilizations of the Near East. It has its roots in the late Classical tradition, from which it inherited many decorative motifs and an interest in the natural appearance of human figures and of animal and plant forms. In common with the Mediterranean peoples, the Armenians seek the clarity of harmonious compositions; even the richest decorations are not overcrowded or confused; the component parts are easily discernible, and they are arranged according to a simple scheme.

From the art which developed in Syria, Palestine, Alexandria, and Constantinople the Armenian, like the other Christian nations, borrowed the illustrations of the Old and New Testaments, preferring sometimes the types used in one region, sometimes those of another, and often modifying them according to their own temperament. The Armenian compositions have a less hieratic and transcendental character than the Byzantine representations; the restraint gives place to a dramatic or, at times, to a more familiar or human interpretation. New types are also created and new themes added to the customary repertory.

But Armenian art developed, as stated above, in contact with the non-Christian civilizations of the Near East. From the first to the fifth century Armenia was ruled by a minor branch of the Parthian dynasty; during the Sasanian period the major part of the country was under Persian control, and in the course of the following centuries Armenia was occupied by the Arabs, the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Persians, and the Turks. These various occupations left their mark on the arts. Iranian elements which had already penetrated into the Classical and early Christian art are more numerous in Armenia; Islamic motifs were also borrowed, and the tendencies of the Armenians towards stylized forms were strengthened through these contacts with the arts of the Near East. But throughout the centuries the basically Mediterranean spirit was never submerged and the Christian content prevented Armenian art from being assimilated with that of its neighbours or conquerors. The subtle blending of different, and sometimes conflicting, trends resulted in creations which also differ from the Byzantine paintings, and those of the other Christian nations of the East, and give to Armenian art its own individual character.



CATALOGUE



ABRIDGED BIBLE

DATED A.D. 1601

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The author explains the contents and purpose of his book in a short preface on page 3: 'Recalling the length and difficulty of the Biblical work, and the laziness of pupils or readers concerning those matters which are as the foundation of the divine writings, also the ignorance of some because of the scarcity of books, I wished to clarify, according to my ability, and briefly to explain the varied discourses, gathering in a small book the genealogy of the holy fathers and their works, in order to show from what Levite and royal family Christ was born. And so that the followers of the divine words should not be wearied by the length of the writings, but might easily learn and profit by them, with great labour and attention I set myself the task of composing this explanatory abridgement. I began with Adam and the forefathers, continued with the judges, kings, prophets, priests and their contemporaries, and carried it through to Christ.'

On page 5, which is the beginning of the book, the author gives a further explanation: 'According to the great philosopher Aristotle, it is proper to proceed from the general to the particular, for through the general we understand more easily the particular. And as I wished to speak about the families, the relations and the histories of the Old and New Testaments, it seemed more fitting to me to divide, first of all, the writings of the Old and New Testaments.'

These divisions are indicated by a diagram on page 6. The title of each main group is written inside a large circle; those of the subdivisions are written inside smaller circles, connected with the larger one by means of straight lines.

The Old Testament comprises four groups:

- 1st. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.
- 2nd. Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the twelve prophets. Two circles after Judges have no titles; they were probably intended for Ruth and the Book of Kings.
- 3rd. Esdras, Chronicles, Esther, Daniel, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Psalms, Job.
- 4th. Hidden books (Apocrypha): Baruch, Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, The Book of Wisdom.

The New Testament is in one group with the following subdivisions: the Four Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation. The Abridged Bible proper begins on page 7; the New Testament section begins on page 29.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 37 folios, each one measuring 30.5 × 17.5 cm., are attached to one another along the long sides and fold in and out, forming a continuous band with a continuous text. Written surface 26 cm. wide; 28 to 32 lines on each page, sometimes in a single column, at other times in 2, 3, or 4 columns. Narrow bands of interlacing palmettes at the sides of the text.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Small regular *bolorgir*; the first line of the text and the initials of the chapters are in zoomorphic or floral letters.



BINDING. Red-brown leather over boards stamped in the centre with an ornate medallion of Persian design and a thin cord border. The first and last leaves are attached to these boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1601 at Amida by the scribe Hohannes, assisted by Aslan, for Serapion of Edessa.

COLOPHONS. Page 15, in gold letters on a blue rectangular band: 'The steward of our Lord Jesus Christ, Serapion vardapet.'

Pages 36–37. 'Glory to the . . . Godhead in three persons. . . . The happy and thrice blessed Serapion of Edessa, a learned doctor . . . , commissioned this to be written and decorated with gold for his own enjoyment . . . and as a memorial for himself and his parents, his father Khodja Daniel . . . his mother the pilgrim (*mahtesi*) At'las. . . . This manuscript with gold images, called an Abridged Bible, was written and illuminated in the year of the Armenians 1050 (= A.D. 1601), in the metropolis of Amida, at the door of St. Sargis the general, whose protection we enjoy, during the prelacy in our province of Tigranocerta of the owner of this, Serapion vardapet. (It was written) by me, the sinful . . . scribe Hohannes, and I was assisted by the adolescent Aslan for the copy and illumination both of this manuscript and of others. For he was gifted in all things and he did the greatest part of the writing. And while we were proceeding with the illustration came the terrible order from on high and, at the end of four days, my graceful Aslan, diligent and studious, passed away to Christ in an untimely death when he was but twenty years old. And then fell upon me bitter and poignant grief, lamentable anguish and heartaching sorrow; torn and mutilated I fell into profound sadness and unending misery. For great as was my delight over his studiousness and his accomplishments, a thousandfold greater were my distress and my bereavement when he departed from us. For he had learnt not only the art of painting and of writing in our language but also in that of three alien nations, Persians, Arabs and Turks, which I did not know at all. Having seen his bright intelligence I had made him study and he, loving studies and being obedient, never made me repeat what was said to him, but accomplished it in a few days; he thus became a skilled and fast scribe, and a reader of our works and those of others, and the strangers who saw him greatly marvelled. This flowering shoot, this fruit-bearing bough was stricken and withered by the parching breath of death and I was left, in this world, lamenting and cast down into abysmal sorrow, for that which I hoped to behold I did not behold. Because of this, I, the miserable scribe Hohannes, my face covered with ashes, my eyes filled with tears, I throw myself at your feet and beseech you, O holy order of priests and scholars who love to read and who are agreeable to God, remember in your pure prayers rising to heaven, Aslan, the tender and graceful scribe who before his time departed to Christ and say "God have mercy". And for me, the unworthy, ask the forgiveness of my sins, and for all who benefit from this, for our parents and teachers say "God have mercy", Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS

Pages 4–5. *The Garden of Eden. Headpiece.* Pl. 49.

Page 7. Adam and Eve stand at the sides of the tree of life, each one holding an



apple. The serpent is coiled at the foot of the tree, and between the upper two branches appears the bust of God the Father surrounded by clouds. Inscription: Adam, Eve.

A number of bust portraits, usually in medallions, with a gold background, are painted next to the passages in which these figures are mentioned. They are: p. 9, Nimrod; p. 10, Isaac; p. 11, Jacob; p. 13, Othniel; p. 14, Joshua; p. 15, Hiel; p. 16, David; p. 24, Eliakim; p. 27, Eleazar; p. 29, Christ Emmanuel; p. 30, Christ of sorrows; p. 31, in the left margin, Virgin orans with the Christ Child before her breast, Peter, James, John (Pl. 50); p. 32, in the left margin, James the minor, Simon, Andrew, Philip; in the middle of the page, Thaddeus, Bartholomew; p. 33, in the left margin, Matthew, Mathias, Paul; in the text, Thomas; p. 34, in the left margin, Barnabas who is Joseph, Barnabas son of Alpheus.

The genealogical tables of the personages of the Old Testament are given, wherever necessary, by means of small circles similar to those which indicated the subdivisions of the Old and New Testament. Other geometric designs should be included among the illustrations:

Pages 8 and 9. Four cross-sections of Noah's ark, with indications of the parts in which Noah and his family, the different groups of animals, the food, water, &c., were located.

Page 16. Diagram of the disposition of the Israelites around the tabernacle: in the centre, the tabernacle; on the left, 'the priests'; above, 'the Kohathites'; on the right, 'the Gershonites'; below, 'the Merarites' (see Num. iii. 23-38). The names of the twelve tribes of Israel are written in an outer circle, each name being connected by means of a line with one of the four groups around the tabernacle. The cardinal points are indicated as follows: on the left, East; above, South; on the right, West; below, North.

Page 25. Plan of the city of Jerusalem built by Nehemiah: four concentric circles with the indication of the six principal gates.

REMARKS. Serapion of Edessa, the author of this Abridged Bible who is at the same time the owner of this manuscript, is a well-known figure in Armenian Church history. His reputation as a scholar and as a teacher attracted many young men to Amida (Diyarbakir), and several learned clerics of the time were trained by him. In 1603 Serapion was elected co-catholikos, but political intrigues soon deprived him of his seat, and in 1605 he once again returned to Amida, where he died the following year.¹

The scribe Hohannes, who speaks in such moving terms of his young assistant Aslan, has not given any information about himself, but the study of his miniatures and a comparison with other manuscripts make it possible to recognize him as Hohannes, son of Tjanipek and Et'ar, the head of an active scriptorium at Amida in the early 17th century.

The portraits in medallions imitate in type and figure style similar representations of the ancestors of Christ painted by the Cilician artists of the 13th century.² This

¹ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum* (in Armenian), Constantinople, 1914, vol. ii, cols. 2291-6.

² Portraits in medallions in Baltimore, Walters Art

Gallery, no. 539, illustrated by T'oros Roslin in A.D. 1262; and in Washington, Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, 13th century.



imitation of Cilician models and the same stylistic traits appear in two Gospels illustrated by the scribe Hohannes, son of Tjanipek,¹ and in some of the miniatures of a copy of the *Lives of the Fathers* (Brit. Mus. Add. 27301), which Hohannes illustrated in 1615. Hohannes also signed a few other manuscripts, the present location of which is not known: a Gospel written in A.D. 1578 and illustrated in A.D. 1605, and two other Gospels dated A.D. 1609 and 1621.² He was assisted by his pupils Minas, Melk'on, and Mik'ayel, who continued to work independently after their master's death.

The illustrations of the Abridged Bible are of a high artistic quality. The band with two cartouches at the ends, decorated with delicate scrolls and interlaces, imitates the ornaments of Islamic manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries (Pl. 49).³ Hohannes writes in the colophon that his assistant Aslan had learnt 'the art of painting and writing . . . of three alien nations, the Persians, Arabs and Turks', and the headpiece may be the work of Aslan. Muslim influence may also be seen in the trees of the Garden of Eden painted against a yellow background (Pl. 49), and in the clouds drawn around the Trinity imitating Chinese clouds,⁴ though the winged heads of the angels are the types used in the art of western Europe beginning with the Renaissance.

The image of Paradise, with the four rivers swinging upward from the rocky foreground, is derived from a composition which, in the manuscripts of the *Lives of the Fathers*, illustrates the legend of six monks who set out to discover the Garden of Eden. The earliest known example occurs in Jerusalem no. 285, written at Cafra in Crimea in A.D. 1428–30, and the identical scene is repeated in later copies⁵ including the one illustrated by Hohannes in 1615. In the group of the Trinity the dove is figured above Christ's head instead of being held by Him. This variant of the old Byzantine type appears at a fairly early date in the art of western Europe,⁶ and it passed later into the East Christian world. The Ancient of Days seated on the throne from which project the symbols of the Evangelists is an iconographic type commonly used in Armenia from the 14th century on.⁷

The schematic representation of the Israelites around the tabernacle (on p. 16) differs from the Byzantine compositions in the *Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, where

¹ Paris, Collection J. Pozzi, Gospel of A.D. 1616. There must have been originally a quire with full-page miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript, for Hohannes writes in the colophon that he represented the scenes of the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Resurrection. The second Gospel, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 541, was written for a lady called Napat' and deposited at the church of St. Sargis at Amida; the part of the colophon with the date is missing. A Gospel written in 1611 for a lady Napat' and deposited at St. Sargis was still preserved at Amida in the late 19th century. The partial copy of the colophon published by Srvandztian (*T'oros Aghbar*, Constantinople, 1884, ii. 424) does not include the name of the scribe but, given the identities of owner and place, it seems probable that this is the same manuscript as the one now in Baltimore, and that it still had, at the time, the last folio of the colophon, with the date, which has since been lost.

² Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, ii. 425 and 435 (Gospels of A.D. 1621 and 1605); E. Lalayan, *Catalogue of*

the Armenian Manuscripts of Vaspurakan (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1915, cols. 831–8 (Gospel of A.D. 1609).

³ Arthur U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford, 1938, pls. 945 D, 947–9; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, pls. 245, 266–7. The narrow band of the frame, ending in serpents' heads, does not occur in any of these examples.

⁴ These clouds appear in numerous Persian manuscripts; an excellent example may be seen in the scene of the Ascension of the prophet Muhammad represented in a Nizami of the British Museum: A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 897.

⁵ Venice, no. 1922: *Keghouni*, Venice, 1947, p. 21. Jerusalem, nos. 971 (A.D. 1623), 228 (A.D. 1651), and 293 (A.D. 1652).

⁶ A. Heimann, 'L'Iconographie de la Trinité', *L'art chrétien*, i (1934), 46–47, 50–51.

⁷ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 131–2. An earlier example occurs in a Gospel illustrated in 1236 by the painter Ignatios: New Julfa, no. 36.

the tribes are represented by groups of armed men.¹ It also differs from the drawings in a number of Armenian seventeenth-century copies of the Book of Questions by Gregory of Tat'ev, where the tents of the twelve tribes are placed around a larger tent which houses the tabernacle with the two cherubim.²

This Abridged Bible appears to have been greatly appreciated. Another copy was written and illustrated in 1621 at the Monastery of the Virgin at Tchenk'ush, west of Amida, and although it is not stated that the manuscript of Serapion of Edessa was used as a model, this seems likely, for Serapion's name is recalled in the colophon.³ An Abridged Bible was again written and illustrated at Amida in 1693.⁴

Both by its contents and arrangement our manuscript is a very rare example; its importance is further enhanced by the high quality of the miniatures and their excellent state of preservation.

552

BIBLE

DATED A.D. 1634

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-33, Genesis; foll. 33-64v., Exodus; foll. 64v.-87, Leviticus; foll. 87-116, Numbers; foll. 116-42, Deuteronomy; foll. 142v.-162, Joshua; foll. 162v.-181v., Judges; foll. 181v.-184, Ruth; foll. 184-271v., I-IV Kings; foll. 271v.-313v., I-II Chronicles; foll. 313v.-331v., I and II Ezra; foll. 331v.-340v., Nehemiah; foll. 341-8v., Esther; foll. 348v.-359, Judith; foll. 359-65v., Tobit; foll. 365v.-420v., Maccabees i-iii; foll. 421-2v., Epiphanius of Cyprus on the Psalms; foll. 422v.-462v., Psalms; foll. 462v.-480, Proverbs; foll. 480-487, Ecclesiastes; foll. 487-90v., Song of Songs; foll. 490v.-501v., Wisdom of Solomon; foll. 501v.-519v., Preface (the second part by Julian of Halicarnassus) and text of Job; foll. 519v.-554, Isaiah; foll. 554v.-582, Twelve minor Prophets; foll. 582-620, Jeremiah; foll. 620-3, Epistle of Baruch; foll. 623-6, Lamentation of Jeremiah; foll. 626-40v., Daniel; foll. 640v.-665, Ezekiel.

Each book of the Old Testament is preceded by a preface.

Foll. 665v.-667, Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables; foll. 667v.-668v., Headings, preface, and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; foll. 669-90, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 690-690v., Headings and preface of the Gospel of Mark; foll. 691-704, Gospel of Mark; foll. 704v.-705v., Headings and preface of the Gospel of Luke; foll. 705v.-728v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 728v.-729v., Headings and preface of the Gospel of John; foll. 729v.-746, Gospel of John; foll. 746v.-750, Prefaces to the Acts, headings, itinerary of Paul; foll. 750-71v., Acts of the Apostles; foll. 772-84, the Seven Catholic Epistles, with preface and headings for each; fol. 784, Exhortation of Euthalius; foll. 784-7v., Preface to the Epistles of Paul; foll. 787v.-792, Headings of the Epistles; foll. 792-844v., Epistles of Paul, with preface and headings for each (including the Epistle of the Corinthians to

¹ C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste: Codice vaticano greco 699*, Milan, 1908, pl. 17.

² New York, Kevorkian Collection no. 44, A.D. 1635; Jerusalem nos. 216 (A.D. 1666) and 205 (A.D. 1667). In a copy of A.D. 1602 (Jerus. no. 420) the tents are not

represented and the names of the twelve tribes are written under pointed arches drawn around a large rectangle.

³ Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, ii. 463-4.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 386.

Paul and Paul's Third Epistle to the Corinthians); foll. 845–55^v., Revelation, with headings and preface; foll. 855^v–856^v., Colophons.

At the beginning, vellum fly-leaf from a Gospel in large *erkat'agir* and one from a Lectionary in *bolorgir*, both folded into two; at the end, two vellum fly-leaves from a Gospel in *erkat'agir* also folded into two.

MEASUREMENTS. 26.5 × 19 cm.; written surface, 20 × 15 cm.; 2 columns of 40 lines each. 857 + 10 folios, for after folio 658 the numbers go back again to 649.

PAPER AND WRITING. Smooth, thin paper in buff colour. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the initials of the books of the Old Testament and the pericope initials in the New Testament are in floral or zoomorphic letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards with flap. Stamped border and cross on front cover, rectangular ornament on end cover; flap stamped with interlacing circles and cord border. Holes for pegs and thongs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written and decorated in 1634 at Zeitun by Vahan, assisted by his son Avetik' and his pupil Hohan, for Grigoris *vardapet*.

COLOPHONS. At the end of most of the books rhymed notices recall the most prominent events of the preceding book and ask for prayers for the scribe or for the owner. Brief colophons, some giving the name of the scribe, also occur on foll. 2^v., 208^v., 422^v., 665, 668, 668^v., 704; in the colophon of fol. 665 the scribe Vahan mentions that his son Ter Avetik' and his pupil Hohan assisted him for the illustrations and the binding.

Foll. 855^v–856^v., principal colophon. 'This Bible is ended. Whoever reads it with his heart will become wise, whoever remembers the scribe and the illuminator and the binder may he receive from the Lord the reward he asks for. Glory to Thee, infinite and incomparable person, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. . . . One of the honourable and pious *vardapets* of the monastery, Ter Grigoris, who having searched as a wise merchant looking for precious stones and pearls, or as a doctor looking for medicines and herbs . . . thought of owning this Bible . . . and he had it written at a very great cost and adorned with gold and many colours, for the enjoyment of himself and the children of new Sion. And he gave it to be written to my humble person, the very sinful Vahan, whose name is not worthy to be remembered. And I, to the extent of my ability, I fulfilled his wish, and wrote this with fear and trembling. And it was started and completed with the assistance of God, in the city of Zeitun under the protection of Saint Sargis the general, and the Holy Archangels, and Saint Jacob of Nisibis, and the Holy Theotokos, and Saint Karapet and Saint Gregory the Illuminator and Parsam and Theodorus who are here for our assistance, in the year of the Armenians 1083 (= A.D. 1634), during the prelacy of Ter Simeon of Cilicia, and while the archbishop Ter Mkrtitch was the superior of our monastery. . . . You who encounter this remember in your hearts the owner of this. Ter Grigor *vardapet*, and his parents, and together with them the sinful scribe and my parents, my father Avetik' and my mother Zmrut' and my uncles . . . and my brothers . . . and my sons Ter Avetik' and my other son Prochoros and the intelligent adolescent Nerses who this year departed to Christ. . . .'



Colophons by later owners: fol. 116, in *notrgir*. 'This Bible belongs to Poghos *vardapet* of Aintab, he bought it in the year of the Armenians 1122 (= A.D. 1673). God grant him enjoyment of it. Our Father.' The same information is repeated on foll. 67, 142, and on the last fly-leaf of the manuscript; there is a second brief notice on the preceding fly-leaf recalling that on 2 March 1132 (= A.D. 1683), the *abegha* Simeon, a pupil of Poghos *vardapet*, received the holy orders at Aintab.

Fol. 856v., at the end of the principal colophon: 'This Bible is a memorial of the Church of the Holy Forty (Martyrs) in the city of Aleppo and of the entire Armenian population. In the year 1157 (= A.D. 1708).'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. With a few exceptions, the headpieces of the books of the Old Testament and of the Gospels are narrow bands decorated with floral motifs on a gold background; there is always a marginal ornament.

Fol. 3. Π -shaped headpiece decorated with a floral scroll; over it two birds at the sides of a chalice. Moses stands on the top of a small marginal ornament; above his head are a few leaves terminated by a cross.

Fol. 669. Headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew. A multifoil arch opens into a rectangle decorated with the bust of the youthful Christ in a medallion and with two sirens. Birds stand above the rectangle at the sides of a vase; a large floral ornament fills the outer margin.

There is only one miniature in the manuscript on fol. 148, next to Joshua vi. 22; a nimbed man, painted in bust at the top of the marginal ornament, points to a rectilinear maze taking up more than a third of the first column of the text. Underneath the diagram there is a rhymed account of the fall of Jericho, 'This is the city of Jericho, which has very strong walls, &c.'

The Canon tables have no decorated frame.

REMARKS. This Bible is a late work of the scribe Vahan who was already active in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Two Gospels copied and illustrated by him in 1580 and 1596 are at the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo (nos. 16 and 10)¹ where our Bible was also kept in 1708; two Hymnals dated 1592 and 1618 are now in Jerusalem (nos. 2359 and 1649), and a slightly later work, a Gospel dated 1625, is mentioned by Alishan.² The few figure representations in these manuscripts are rather mediocre works and Vahan shows greater skill in his ornamental compositions. His pupil Hohan, whose name is recorded in our Bible as one of the assistants, also worked independently and several of his manuscripts have survived.³

553

BIBLE (incomplete)

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-17v., Genesis; foll. 18-32, Exodus; foll. 32-44, Leviticus; foll. 44v.-58v., Numbers; foll. 58v.-71v., Deuteronomy; foll. 71v.-81v., Joshua; foll. 81v.-91, Judges; foll. 91-2v., Ruth; foll. 92v.-140, I-IV Kings; foll. 140-63, I-II Chronicles; foll. 163v.-165, Ezra.

¹ A. Surméyan, *Catalogue*, pp. 28-30, 46-47.

² L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 185-186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 186.



All the books, except Genesis and Exodus, have a preface and table of contents at the beginning. Fol. 33^v. is left blank.

Lacunae. The remainder of the Bible after Ezra iv. 35.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 26.9 × 20.2 cm.; written surface, 18.8 × 13 cm.; 2 columns of 51 lines each. 165 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. White, fine vellum. Small *bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of the principal divisions and the initials of the other books are in zoomorphic and floral letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, frayed at the corners, stamped with border of floral scrolls.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century. Written by Astvadsatur.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 72. 'O writing which remains. O hand which becomes dust. O brother who reads. O do not forget the scribe. I beseech, I beseech and supplicate you who encounter this. I am steeped in sin and my face is darkened. Please (say) God have mercy on the scribe.'

Similar colophon on fol. 82, slightly longer.

Fol. 94. 'And I the humble and unworthy . . . scribe misnamed Astvadsatur the cleric, laying my face on the ground I beseech you who encounter this book, remember me with a "God have mercy" or with "Father have mercy". And whoever remembers and with full mouth utters "God have mercy", may our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on him at His second coming. Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 94^v., *Eli and Hannah*. Eli, in the costume of the high priest but wearing a mitre, is seated on the left 'by a post of the temple of the Lord' (I Sam. i. 9), while Hannah kneels on the right, facing him. The temple is a circular construction with a high dome flanked by two turrets and, inside, a smaller construction with four columns supporting a pointed roof. Next to Eli, in line-drawing left unfinished, a young attendant seems to be introducing Hannah to the high priest. In a rectangular enclosure in the foreground, on the right, in front of a mountainous scenery, a cart drawn by oxen carries the Ark of the Covenant with the two gold cherubim; next to the cart, in line-drawing, left unfinished, there is a young man, half kneeling.

Several small vignettes are drawn in the margins: fol. 2, Cain killing Abel; in outline, unfinished (Gen. iv. 8); fol. 18^v., an angel, wearing a short tunic and high boots, speaks to Moses seated on a rock and watching his flock; above the rock appears the flaming bush with the bust of the Virgin and Child (Exod. iii. 2); fol. 23^v., Moses strikes the rock, a child fills his cup with water (Exod. xvii. 6); fol. 28^v., the golden calf raised on a column and five men seated at a table (Exod. xxxii. 4-6); fol. 49^v., two soldiers carrying a large bunch of grapes (Num. xiii. 24); fol. 52^v., a serpent raised on a pole, three men standing at the side; in outline, unfinished (Num. xxi. 9); fol. 53^v., Balaam on the ass, which is kneeling, looks at the angel holding a sword; in outline, unfinished; the wings, armour, and boots of the angel are in gold (Num. xxii. 31).



Narrow bands of interlace precede the tables of contents on foll. 32, 44v., 82, 91v.; larger headpieces are used for the books on foll. 1, 34, 59v., 72v., 95, 118. A blank space is left for similar headpieces on foll. 18, 107, 107v., 130, 141, 151v. There are, in addition, larger blank spaces, probably intended for miniatures, on foll. 17v., 44v., 59v., 72v., 82v., 91v., 107v., 117v., 129v., 130, 140v., 141, 151v., 164.

The headpieces of Genesis (fol. 1) and Leviticus (fol. 34) occupy the greater part of the page.

Fol. 1. *Headpiece of Genesis*. In the upper centre of the rectangle, Christ, with bared breast and holding a large cross, and God the Father, holding a globe, are seated on clouds; between them, a little higher up, the dove of the Holy Ghost. Six men (apostles?) appear above other clouds at the sides. Two vine scrolls fill the sides of the rectangle, and in the meanders are drawn twenty-four prophets, in bust, holding open scrolls (the colours are partly flaked off). Above the rectangle two peacocks stand at the sides of a floral motif; below, in the arched opening of the rectangle is a vase of flowers. A large ornament of interlacing palmettes fills the entire outer margin. The initial is formed by a nimbed man wearing a short tunic and high boots who stands on a column and holds an open scroll in his raised right hand; a dragon is coiled around his legs, and its lowered head forms the loop of the letter. The other letters of the first line have been carefully drawn in gold, but the colours have not been filled in.

Fol. 34. *Headpiece of Leviticus*. Pl. 56.

REMARKS. The frontispiece of the Book of Samuel is a composite picture: the young boy standing between Eli and Hannah is probably Samuel who ministered 'unto the Lord before Eli the priest' (I Sam. ii. 11), while the scene introduced in the lower right corner represents, no doubt, the Ark of the Covenant brought from Shiloh to the camp of the Israelites (I Sam. iv. 4).

This same composition, with only minor differences, occurs in two Bibles illustrated in Constantinople: Jerusalem, no. 1927, written by Astvadsatur and Ghazar in A.D. 1649; Jerusalem, no. 2561, written by Markos between the years 1654 and 1670. The similarity between the miniatures of these three manuscripts is particularly significant, for this composition does not occur in the Bibles written in other Armenian centres,¹ and therefore Constantinople appears to be the place of origin of our manuscript. This is corroborated by the close connexions between the marginal illustrations and ornamental designs of these three Bibles. For instance, the headpiece of Genesis, with the Holy Trinity and the prophets, resembles the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew in Jerusalem, no. 2561; a similar composition also occurs in another manuscript written in Constantinople in 1650, by a scribe named Astvadsatur.²

The name of Astvadsatur appears in several Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the seventeenth century,³ but in the absence of more specific information we cannot be sure that it always refers to the same person. Without attempting any closer identification, we may suggest that our manuscript is the work of a scribe called Astvadsatur who lived

¹ In the Bibles written at New Julfa the composition is much simpler and only shows Hannah kneeling before Eli, see New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 1, A.D. 1638; Jerusalem, no. 1934, A.D. 1643-46; Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 623/3, A.D. 1648.

² Jerusalem, no. 3435 (Sevadjian, no. 3): Macler, *Documents*, pl. xci, fig. 218.

³ Etchmiadzin, Karenian Cat., no. 521, works by Nerses the Gracious, A.D. 1638. Etchmiadzin, no. 17, Bible, A.D. 1641 (A. S. Uvarov, *Sbornik melkikh*



in Constantinople in the second or third quarter of the seventeenth century, rather than that of one of his namesakes from Aleppo,¹ or Ispahan.²

The headpiece of Leviticus (Pl. 56), painted in bright colours against a gold background, is an excellent example of the rich and carefully drawn ornamental compositions of this period. The multifoil opening has been further complicated by the addition of two dragons, whose heads jut out, and whose bodies narrow into bands, interlacing at the apex of the opening, and come down again to join the frameband. A similar use of the serpent for the frame may be seen in the Abridged Bible of this Collection (Pl. 49). The central roundel with the intricate floral interlace occurs in manuscripts of an earlier date, but the roundels added at the upper angles, and which interrupt the frame, are more characteristic of the 17th century; so are the naturalistic flowers in a vase placed in the opening of the headpiece.

The representation of the Trinity which decorates the headpiece of Genesis is an iconographic type of a late date. The group of Christ and God the Father seated side by side, and the dove flying between them, was already known to the Armenian artists of the 13th century, but the clouds which surround them in this miniature, the figure of Christ nude to the waist and holding a large cross, point to a model of the Renaissance or post-Renaissance period. The twenty-four figures in the vine scroll, each one holding an open scroll, represent the prophets, the usual number of sixteen having been increased by the addition of other personages of the Old Testament who were classed among the prophets in the Middle Ages. While the number of prophets has been thus increased, that of the apostles has been reduced, and only six appear, above the clouds, in the upper part of the composition.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1174

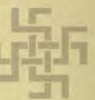
SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1, Prayer recited for confession; fol. 1v., Beginning of the Letter of Eusebius; fol. 2r. and v., Canon table and end of the Letter of Eusebius taken from another manuscript; fol. 3v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 4–75v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 77–121, Gospel of Mark; fol. 121v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 122–96v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 197v., Portrait of John; foll. 198–252v., Gospel of John; foll. 252v.–253v., Colophon.

trudov, Moscow, 1910, i. 211). Jerusalem no. 3435, formerly Sevadgian Coll., no. 3, Gospel, A.D. 1650 (F. Macler, *Documents*, pls. LXXXV–XCVIII). Ritual formerly at Amida, A.D. 1651 (Srvandztian, *Toros Aghbar*, ii. 418). Etchmiadzin, Karenian Cat., no. 165, Bible, A.D. 1660. Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 123/36, Psalter, A.D. 1668 (Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i. 211–14).

¹ Active between the years 1622 and 1681: A. Surméyan, *Histoire des Arméniens d'Alep* (in Armenian with French title), vol. iii, Paris, 1950, pp. 165–78.

² New York, Hazarian Coll., Gospel, A.D. 1638.

New Julfa, no. 338, Gospel, A.D. 1646 (H. Kurdian, 'The Monastery of the Saviour at New Julfa' [in Armenian], *Hairenik*, Boston, xviii. 3 (1940), 130–1). Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 623/3, Bible, A.D. 1648; the scribe Dsatur, short for Astvadsatur, is one of the assistants. Etchmiadzin, Bible, A.D. 1660 (M. F. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie: 1847–1848*, St. Petersburg, 1849–51, 3^e rapport, p. 34, no. 18). Formerly Ktuts, no. 233, Gospel, A.D. 1670 (Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 933–6).



Fly-leaf at beginning and end taken from a Gospel manuscript in *erkat'agir* of the 10–11th centuries.

Lacunae. After fol. 1, the end of the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables; after fol. 75, Matthew xxviii. 16–20 and the portrait of Mark.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.5 × 16.5 cm.; written surface, 19 × 11 cm.; single column of 22 or 23 lines. 253 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper frayed at the edges and partly mended. Sloping angular *erkat'agir*. The first initial of each Gospel is in floral letters; the other initials are in black ink.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front cover with tooled cross raised on three steps and rectangular border in cord motif; end cover with tooled centre panel in interlace and rectangular border of cord motif. Back mended.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1174 at Edessa by Barsegh for the cleric Grigor.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 3v., next to the portrait of Matthew: 'With the intercession of the Evangelist, Lord have mercy upon the cleric Grigor who received this Gospel from his rightful earnings.'

Fol. 74v. 'Please remember the scribe hardened with sins.'

Fol. 196v. 'Glory to the Saviour and memory to the writer. Remember, I beseech, I beseech, the scribe Barsegh, hardened with sins.'

Foll. 252v.–253v. 'Glory to the most holy Trinity... With the grace of the Lord I began and through His mercy I completed this holy and divine commandment... in the year of the Armenians 623 (= A.D. 1174), in the great and famous city of Edessa, under the protection of the holy prelate Vasil. You who read or copy, remember in the Lord (the scribe), sinful unto death, and my parents who have died in Christ, for the Philanthropos is wont to have mercy on one through the prayers of another. Together with them (remember) the owner of this holy Gospel, the saintly priest Grigor, who, like his namesake the Illuminator, desired this commandment of the Lord. And you who remember, may you be remembered by the Lord. Glory to the Immortal, forever and ever. Amen. Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Matthew (fol. 3v.), Luke (fol. 121v., Pl. 1a), and John (fol. 197v.) are seated on a high chair, in front of a desk with a tall lectern on which is placed a book; the name of each Evangelist is written above his head in the same writing as the text.

Fol. 1v. *Letter of Eusebius.* The arch, inscribed in a rectangle and decorated with a stepped motif, is supported by two simple columns; small white crosses drawn against a dark blue background fill the spandrels; two graceful peacocks stand at the sides of a bowl above the rectangle. The text of the letter begins in the lunette.

Fol. 2r. and v. *Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables.* The rectangle, resting on three columns and with two small arches opening into it, is decorated with a simple geometric design in green and blue; the drawing is very crude. This folio, taken from another Gospel, has been reversed at the time of the rebinding so that the Letter of Eusebius



begins on the verso and ends in the first column of the recto; the second column has the title of the first canon, but the canon itself has not been written in. There is a gap of several lines between the text of the Letter of Eusebius on fol. 17. and the continuation on fol. 27.; this proves that the folio was already decorated and the text written when it was attached to our manuscript.

The *headpieces* of the three Gospels are Π -shaped or consist of narrow rectangular bands with simple geometric designs in blue, green, or red (Pl. 16). The marginal ornaments of the initial pages are formed by simple interlaces and occupy about one-third of the height of the page; those drawn at the beginning of the pericopes are for the most part coloured medallions framing the numbers, and occasionally small floral ornaments. In the margin of fol. 226 Lazarus is represented in bust (Jn. xi. 1).

REMARKS. The figures of the Evangelists, extremely thin and tall, are not very carefully drawn; the colours, especially the whites, are blackened with age and the face of Matthew is partly effaced. The nimbs are yellow; no gold has been used in the manuscript. A later hand has emphasized with black lines some of the folds of the draperies and, occasionally, the outlines of the arms. The elongated proportions, the sketchy treatment of the draperies recall the style of a Gospel illustrated in Great Armenia in 1038;¹ however, the elegant forms of the birds drawn above the Letter of Eusebius, are more closely allied with the contemporary Cilician paintings.²

The Armenians had come in large numbers to Edessa at the time of the general exodus which followed the conquest of Armenia by the Seljuk Turks, and for some years the city was held by the Armenian general Philaretus. During the 11th and 12th centuries they formed the major part of the population; they had their own archbishop and the churches of the city were almost equally divided between the Greeks and the Armenians. There was still an important Armenian community after the conquest and sack of Edessa by the Turks in 1146; among its prominent members special mention should be made of the historian Matthew of Edessa, whose work, relating the events between the years 951 and 1136, deals mainly with the history of Edessa.

Unfortunately very few manuscripts written in Edessa during this period have been preserved. A single folio with part of the colophon of a Gospel written in 1144 is the earliest record.³ The scribe of our manuscript wrote and illustrated in 1161 at Edessa another Gospel which was formerly at Amasea.⁴

¹ Erivan, no. 6201, A. N. Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 41. G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts T'ar*, fig. 22.

² Etchmiadzin, no. 1561/1568: *Narek*, A.D. 1173, cf. Svirine, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

³ Vienna, Mekhitharist Library, no. 659, see N. Akinian, 'The Colophon dated 1144 of a Vellum Gospel' (in Armenian), in *Handes Amsorya*, xxii

(1908), pp. 62-63. The manuscript was copied by the priest Karapet for Bishop Step'annos of the monastery of Dsovuts vank' near Hromkla, in Cilicia: Catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian, *Colophons of Manuscripts*, I, cols. 355-8.

⁴ Catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian, op. cit., cols. 377-80.

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FOUR GOSPELS

12TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Two fragmentary manuscripts of different dates.

Old part: Fol. 1, Colophon; foll. 1v.-4v., Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables; foll. 5-7v., Gospel of Matthew i. 1-ii. 11.

New part: Foll. 8-67v., Gospel of Matthew; fol. 68, Preface of the Gospel of Matthew and Colophon; foll. 68v.-69, Miniatures; fol. 69v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 70-117, Gospel of Mark; foll. 117v.-118, Preface of the Gospel of Mark and Colophon; foll. 118v.-119, Miniatures; fol. 119v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 120-144v., Gospel of Luke.

Lacunae. Canons 2, 3, and 10; Matthew ii. 12-iii. 2; ix. 23-xii. 11; Luke xxii. 48 to end, and the entire Gospel of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. Old part: 24 × 17 cm.; written surface, 18.5 × 11.3 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 7 folios. New part: 24 × 17 cm.; written surface, 19.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 137 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Stout, polished, dark yellow paper, partly mended. *Bolorgir.* In the old part the first line of Matthew is written in ornate letters. In the new part the first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; ornate letters are used on the first page of each Gospel and for the pericope initials.

BINDING. Brown calf with gilt border and small panel.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Old part: 12th century, written by the scribe Hakob for Aprelus. New part: 14th-15th centuries, written for T'ank khat'un.

COLOPHONS. Old part: Fol. 1, part of a colophon in the same writing as the text. '... This honourable man Aprelus and his wife Kher khat'un, received this holy Gospel from their honest earnings, in memory of themselves, of their parents Sargis and Aziz Tikin and all their relatives. ... For this honourable man, Aprelus, having heard the divine command which says "Blessed is he who has children in Sion and whose family is in Jerusalem" ... received this imperishable treasure. ... Praise be to the King forever.'

Fol. 2, in a later hand: 'Mirzi, son of Amir, asks for prayers for himself and the members of his family.'

Fol. 5, under the headpiece of Matthew in the same writing as the text: 'Holy Ghost help the unworthy scribe Hakob.'

New part: Fol. 68, 'Christ son of God ... have mercy on the owner of this, T'ank khat'un, and on her parents, and on Hohannes her husband. ...'

Similar colophon on fol. 131v.

Fol. 118, in a later hand: 'The last owner of this holy Gospel ... the woman Herik'naz, who had it repaired in memory of herself and of her parents, her father Khudaverdi, her mother Melik'aghi and her sons Murat and Hakob. ... This holy Gospel was



renovated during the reign in Persia of Shah Abbas the minor, the catholicosate at Etchmiadzin of lord P'ilippos, and while the archbishop Khatchatur was the superior of the holy monastery of T'uma (Thomas). It was renovated in the year 1102 (= A.D. 1653) by the hand of the sinful elder Simon. I beg you to remember me also, the very sinful one, and may you also be remembered by Christ. Amen.'

Fol. 127v, in the lower margin. 'My heart was very sad here, (far ?) from my nation and my home. O, O, me miserable.'

Inspector's seal in Persian dated 1307 A.H. on foll. 5 and 130v.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Old part. Foll. 2v.-4v. *Canon tables.* Small horse-shoe arches, decorated with a twisted rope motif or a palmette scroll, rest on an architrave also decorated with a twisted rope motif separated into short segments. The columns, with a plain rectangular capital and no base, are covered with the same ornaments as the arches. Pl. 2a.

Fol. 5. *Headpiece of Matthew*, Pl. 2b. The birds and the oval frames are painted in black; the background is a rich dark red.

New part: Fol. 68v. (a) *Baptism.* John, standing half-way up in the miniature, baptizes Christ; the water, in which three large fish are swimming, rises in a cone to Christ's shoulders. In front of John is the tree with the axe, the hand of God comes out of the segment of sky in the left corner; behind Christ stands an angel, hands covered, another comes out of the segment of sky on the right. Inscription: 'Baptism.'

(b) *Raising of Lazarus.* Christ, followed by an apostle, approaches from the left; Martha and Mary kneel at His feet. In the centre is a small arched frame with the body of Lazarus; one of the three Jews standing at the right unwinds his shroud; two young men in short tunics carry a large stone slab. Inscriptions: 'Jesus Christ.' 'The tomb of Lazarus.'

Fol. 69. (a) *Entry into Jerusalem.* Christ, followed by three disciples, is greeted by three men; one of them holds the trunk of a tree on which is seated a child holding an axe; another child climbs on a tree between Christ and the apostles; garments are spread under the ass's feet. Only one of the three apostles is seen in full; the head of the second is drawn above that of the first, in inverted perspective, while that of the third is drawn in front of the bust of the first apostle; this is a very awkward rendering of a figure who was supposed to be standing in the front row. Inscriptions: 'Jesus Christ.' 'The arrival of the Lord at Jerusalem.'

(b) *Washing of the Feet.* Christ, kneeling before a large vase, touches the right foot of Peter, who, seated on a high stool, points to his head. Seven other apostles stand behind Peter; the remaining four stand on the left. In the middle of the composition, three large leaves are drawn under the frame. Inscriptions: 'Jesus Christ.' 'Washing of the Feet.'

Fol. 118v. (a) *Transfiguration and Betrayal.* Pl. 26a. Inscriptions: (a) 'The Transfiguration; Elijah, Jesus Christ, Moses.' (b) 'The Kiss of Judas, Jesus Christ.'

Fol. 119. (a) *Crucifixion and Entombment.* Pl. 26b. Inscriptions: (a) 'And having bent His head He gave up the ghost.' (b) 'The tomb of the Lord.'

The square opening in the Entombment, with the head of a man gazing at the Holy Women, is obviously an erroneous interpretation of part of the Crucifixion scene



represented above. In the model the skull of Adam must have been figured inside the hill on which the cross was raised, a well-known iconographic feature; the copyist misunderstood this, and by introducing the base of the cross into the lower register made it into a part of the composition of the Entombment.

Mark (fol. 69v.) meditating, and *Luke* (fol. 119v.) writing, are seated on an ornate arm-chair, in front of a desk placed under a ciborium; a drapery hangs from a hook in the upper frame. In the portrait of Mark rays descend from a segment of sky on the left, and the Hand of God comes out from the segment of sky on the right. In the portrait of Luke an angel comes out from the segment of sky on the right.

The headpiece of Mark (fol. 70) consists of a rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it, and decorated with a leaf scroll and floral interlaces in three roundels. Above the rectangle is a rampant lion holding a book. Interlacing palmettes, crowned with a cross, fill the outer margin. The headpiece of Luke (fol. 120) is Π -shaped and decorated with leaves disposed to form a geometric pattern; a small multifoil arch is drawn in the opening. Above the rectangle is a crouching ox; the book has not been represented. Marginal ornament like the preceding. The upper margins of both pages have been trimmed, cutting off the top of the animals' heads.

The marginal ornaments, consisting of small interlacing palmettes, birds, and lions, are occasionally replaced by figures or other motifs connected with the text. Fol. 11, Christ, seated (Mt. v. 1); fol. 21v., the centurion kneeling (Mt. ix. 19); fol. 123, The Virgin of the Annunciation (Lk. i. 39); fol. 125v., a shepherd blowing a reed pipe (Lk. ii. 8); foll. 41, 42v., 99v., 141v., trees (Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 19; Mk. x. 46; Lk. xix. 29); foll. 50, 105v., temples (Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1); foll. 62 and 113v., crosses (Mt. xxvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1).

REMARKS. The arcades of the Canon tables belong to a type intermediary between the practice of the 10th–11th centuries, when a free standing arch was used, and that of the 13th century when the arch is inscribed in a rectangle. The simple geometric motifs, the ornate initials consisting of a narrow knotted band, the use of yellow instead of gold, point to Great Armenia and the second half of the 12th century.

The second part of the manuscript is of considerably later date. Bright colours have been used with blue, green, and red predominating; the nimbs are yellow. The garments of the young men in the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem are painted in two different colours, one half green, the other half red. Such costumes appear in the manuscripts illustrated in Cilicia in the 14th century by Sargis Pidsak, but the figure style is entirely different. The broad round faces, the ugly, pointed profile of Judas, the manner of representing the hair with a band of vertical lines in the middle of the head, and of lengthening the eyes and eyebrows, recall the style of the artists who worked in the vicinity of Lake Van during the 14th and early 15th centuries, particularly those of Khizan, south-west of Lake Van. Some of these stylistic traits may be seen in a Gospel illustrated in 1335 at Khizan (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arm. 333), in another illustrated in 1338 at Ardske (Aleppo no. 33), in the Gospel no. 565 of this Collection, written in 1439 at Bastay Vank' in the district of Khizan (Pl. 33), in a Gospel of the year 1435 in the province of Mok's (New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 10).¹ But some

¹ G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, p. 8, fig. 1.

of the iconographic peculiarities of this school, such as the angel with a bottle of oil in the Baptism, or Lazarus lying in a sarcophagus instead of standing in a rock-cut tomb,¹ do not occur in our manuscript and the traditional types are preferred. The proportions of the figures are also more slender than those of the manuscripts of Khizan of the 14th and early 15th centuries, though less elongated than those of the manuscripts of Khizan of the middle of the 15th century, such as the Gospel no. 566 of this collection.

The similarities and the differences suggest a work done in the late 14th or in the early 15th centuries in a scriptorium in the general area of Lake Van, where the influence of Khizan was felt, but which was more conservative in its representation of Gospel scenes.

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FOUR GOSPELS

12TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-2, Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus; foll. 2v.-6v., Canon tables; fol. 7, Colophon in a later hand; fol. 7v., Ornate rectangle; fol. 8v., Ornate arch; foll. 9-82, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 82v., Ornate arch; foll. 83-128v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 129v., Ornate arch; foll. 130-216v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 217v., Ornate rectangle; foll. 218v.-280v., Gospel of John; fol. 280v, Colophon. Blue paper fly-leaf at the end with colophon of late date. Paper pasted inside the covers with a list of the holy places of Palestine written in *notrgir*.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21.8 × 16 cm.; written surface, 15.5 × 10.5 cm.; 2 columns of 20 lines each. 280 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum; small, sloping, angular *erkat'agir* in brown ink, except on the initial page of each Gospel where the writing is in larger, slightly rounded *erkat'agir*. The first letter of each Gospel is composed of geometric interlaces; simple initials are used for the pericopes.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards with two straps stamped with simple floral motifs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 12th century; written by Avetis and bound by Abraham.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 9, on the left side of the ornate initial, in *erkat'agir*: 'Christ, Jesus, with Thy ineffable birth have mercy on him who worked on the painting, and on the binder Abra(ham).'

Fol. 82, at the end of the Gospel of Matthew: 'A certain sinner, called Avetis, unworthy of these divine writings, begs to be remembered in Christ.'

Fol. 216v., at the end of the Gospel of Luke: 'Remember, Lord, the sinful scribe Avetis, together with T'ovma (Thomas) and Khatchatur and K'ristap'or. Grant us Thy mercy at Thy (second) coming. Amen.'

¹ See pp. xxxvi, 48-49.

Fol. 280v., at the end of the Gospel of John: 'Glory to the (Son?) of God with His Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever, Amen. Remember in Christ-Jesus the writer of this holy Gospel, the very sinful Avetis and Khatchatur and K'ristap'or and T'ovma who passed away to Christ and the child Step'annos and our parents.'

Short sentences are written inside some of the marginal ornaments; two of these bear names: fol. 40, 'Lord God, have mercy on David and his brother'; fol. 103v., 'Lord God, have mercy on Abr(aham)'.

Fol. 7. Colophon, in *bolorgir*, dated 20 March 1809, relating the purchase and restoration of the manuscript. The manuscript was bought in Constantinople by the priest Karapet, son of Vard(a)n and T'aparuk', and taken to Armenia, where he had it repaired. Three lines are added in *notrgir* by the priest Karapet, who states that he came from the land of the Medes now called Haghbak.

Colophon in a later hand written on coarse blue paper bound in at the end of the volume. The writer, a certain Melk'on, relates that he had long desired to ascertain the date of the manuscript and that of the scribe, and, having searched, he discovered that the latter was the *vardapet* Avetis, a pupil of the pupils of St. Sahak the Parthian and that the date was the year 290 of the Armenian era.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Letter of Eusebius. On fol. 1 an arch is inscribed in a rectangle; the spandrels are decorated with floral scrolls, and roundels enclosing floral motifs fill the lunettes; two birds are perched on the rectangle. The decoration of foll. 1v.-2 is somewhat simpler. The lunette has not been filled in with ornaments, the writing begins immediately under the arch on fol. 1v. and under a tripartite angular opening on fol. 2. The *Canon tables* (foll. 2v.-6v.) consist of narrow rectangles, sometimes with two arches opening into them, resting on simple columns; the decorative motifs are similar to those of the Letter of Eusebius. No trees or flowers have been drawn in the margins.

The ornate rectangles and arches (Pls. 3a and 4a) were no doubt intended to frame the dedicatory inscription on fol. 7v. and the portraits of the Evangelists on foll. 8v., 82v., 129v., 217v. The rectangle or arch is always filled with a floral or geometric interlace painted in blue and green against a reddish-gold background. The columns are knotted in the middle, the capitals are formed by large roundels framing geometric interlaces; semicircles, with a floral motif, form the bases.

The *headpieces* of the Gospels consist of fairly narrow rectangular bands decorated with geometric and floral motifs in roundels, or with an all-over design. The symbol of Matthew is a bearded man, painted, in bust, inside a roundel placed at the top of the marginal ornament (fol. 9). The lion of Mark fills the rectangular headpiece, which takes up only half the width of the page; the ornate initial, instead of being drawn next to the text, is drawn in the upper part of the page, in the space left empty by the small headpiece (Pl. 3b). The ox appears to be climbing the tree-like ornament in the margin (Pl. 4b); the eagle is perched over the headpiece (Pl. 5).

The pericope ornaments consist of small roundels or simple floral interlaces; crosses are drawn next to the Passion readings on foll. 71, 75, 76v., 120, 121, 122, 204, 208v., 269v., 271v.



REMARKS. The information given by a later owner, according to which the manuscript had been written in the year 290 of the Armenians, is incorrect. If this is the usual Armenian era the date would be A.D. 841, which is far too early; if it is the short era, known as that of Sarkavag, the date would be 1374, which is too late. Both the palaeography and the style of the decoration point to the latter part of the 12th century, not later than the beginning of the 13th century.

The scribe Avetis is not known to me through other illustrated manuscripts of this period,¹ but a binder by the name of Abraham worked at the monastery of Horomos, near Ani. He found there a Gospel which had been written in 1211 at the monastery of Haghbat, in the northern part of Great Armenia, by the scribe Hakob and illustrated by Margaré.² The date of the binding is not indicated; however, it should be placed shortly after the copy of the manuscript, for, in 1223, the manuscript had already been removed from Ani to the eastern province of Artsakh.

The style of the decoration is typical of the work done in Great Armenia in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Ornate arches or rectangles similar to those which precede each Gospel book in this manuscript are used as frames for the portraits of the Evangelists in a Gospel written at the monastery of Horomos in 1181 (Venice, no. 961), in the Gospel of Haghbat of the year 1211,³ and in the Gospel of the T'argmantchats monastery of the year 1232.⁴ This type of frame had already been used at an earlier period since it may be seen in a Gospel illuminated at Drazark, in Cilicia, in 1113, but which copied a model brought from Great Armenia.⁵ The initials of the Gospels and the simple marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes recall those of the manuscripts mentioned above and of other works of the late 12th and early 13th centuries.⁶ In the Gospel of Haghbat of the year 1211, and in another Gospel written in the province of Khatchen c. 1212, roundels and semicircles are sometimes used for the capitals and the bases of the columns, as in our manuscript.⁷

The place assigned to the symbols of the Evangelists is not consistent with the practice of the artists of Great Armenia, who usually represent each symbol next to the first letter of the Gospel, or, less frequently, in the lunette of the headpiece.⁸ In a Gospel illustrated in 1200 at Avag Vank', at Erzinjan, the angel is represented in the outer margin (New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 6), but I know of no other example

¹ The scribe of our manuscript should not be confused with his namesake who lived in Cilicia and copied several manuscripts illustrated by T'oros Roslin, for the script is entirely different (see Jerusalem, no. 2660, dated A.D. 1262; Jerus. no. 2027, dated A.D. 1266; Jerus. no. 2563, dated A.D. 1272; Erivan, no. 211, Gospel written for the Constable Smbat, †1276). One of the assistants of our scribe is named Khatchatur; a scribe Khatchatur worked at the monastery of Haghbat in 1195, but the name is a very common one and the two men cannot be identified without further information concerning them (L. Alishan, *Hayapatum* [in Armenian], Venice, 1901, p. 383).

² Etchmiadzin, no. 6288, see G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, vol. i, pp. 41-75; A. N. Svirine, *Miniature*, pp. 84-89.

³ Hovsep'ian, op. cit., p. 56, fig. 6.

⁴ Etchmiadzin, no. 2743/1058; Tchobanian, *Ro-*

seraie, vol. iii, p. 80.

⁵ Tübingen, MA XIII. 1; see J. Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturmalerei*, pls. vii, ix, x. The colophon with the statement that the model was written in A.D. 893 has since been recognized as a forgery. In another Gospel written at Drazark in 1181 one of the Evangelists also sits under an arched frame: Brit. Mus. Or. 81, fol. 111v.

⁶ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 15-29, pls. vi-vii, ix.

⁷ Hovsep'ian, *Materials*, figs. 1 and 2; Etchmiadzin, no. 232/378; Svirine, *Miniature*, p. 85; G. Hovsep'ian, *Paleographic Album* (in Armenian), Vagharshapat, 1913, pl. xl, fig. 75, see also p. 32 for the date of the manuscript.

⁸ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 42-43, 89-90. See also Codex no. 557, Pl. 7.

where the symbols are combined with the marginal ornament as they are in this manuscript (Pl. 4*b*). The type adopted for the symbol of Matthew, a bearded man clothed as a deacon, instead of an angel, is also unusual.¹

Stylistically the Gospel of Haghbat of the year 1211 comes closest to our manuscript, and this corroborates the identity of the two binders, named Abraham, mentioned in the colophon of both manuscripts. Our manuscript is therefore a product of the scriptorium of Haghbat or of that of Horomos. The greater simplicity of the decoration, the fact that the trees at the sides of the Canon tables have been omitted, as in many manuscripts of the 12th century, suggest that this manuscript was executed shortly before the Gospel of Haghbat, in the last years of the 12th century.

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FOUR GOSPELS

13TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–50, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 50*v.*, Portrait of Mark; foll. 51–110*v.*, Gospel of Mark; foll. 111–99, Gospel of Luke; fol. 199*v.*, Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 200–71*v.*, Gospel of John; foll. 271*v.*–272*v.*, Colophons.

Lacunae. Before fol. 1, Mt. i–ix. 27; between foll. 11 and 12, Mt. xii. 45–xiii. 6; between foll. 17 and 18, Mt. xiv. 13–23; between foll. 19 and 20, Mt. xv. 12–xix. 8; between foll. 31 and 32, Mt. xxii. 21–xxiv. 43; between foll. 73 and 74, Mk. vii. 2–12; between foll. 110 and 111, Mk. xvi. 15–20 and Lk. i–iii. 2; between foll. 178 and 179, Lk. xx. 2–14. Two leaves have been added later: fol. 50 with Mt. xxviii. 19–20 in *bolorgir*, and the portrait of Mark on the verso; fol. 199 with Lk. xxiv. 52–53 in *bolorgir*, and the portraits of John and Prochoros on the verso.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 33.5 × 24 cm.; written surface, 25 × 15.5 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 272 folios. The outer and especially upper margins are trimmed off.

PAPER AND WRITING. Heavy vellum. Upright, rounded *erkat'agir* in brownish ink. The first line of the Gospel of Mark, the first page of the Gospel of John, and the pericope initials are in floral letters. The first line of each pericope and the words 'Jesus', 'God', 'Lord' are in gold letters. Added leaves: foll. 50 and 199 in *bolorgir*. On some pages where the writing is slightly effaced the text has been rewritten between the lines in *notrgir*.

BINDING. Modern, brown leather over boards. Half of the cover of the original binding, in brown stamped leather, is preserved separately.

¹ Another unusual representation may be seen in the Gospel of the University of Chicago, no. 949, written in 1237 at Gandzasar, in the province of Khatchen. The symbols, each time doubled, are drawn in a separate compartment above the portrait of the Evangelist; for Matthew the artist has repre-

sented two men in contemporary costume, seated at either side of a seraph; one of them holds a lance, the other a spear. The inscription reads: 'The man according to Matthew.' G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, New York, 1943, vol. ii, pp. 51, 54, 56, 58, figs. 5, 7, 9, 13.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 13th century. Written by Sargis and Step'annos for the congregation of the monastery, and bound at Hohannuvank' by Arta, pupil of the great Hohannes.

COLOPHONS. Foll. 271v.-272v. 'Glory to the most holy Trinity who allowed the miserable scribe to see the last line. Amen. Remember in Christ the holy *vardapet* Mkhitar and all the brethren of this holy monastery who helped and contributed to this holy Gospel. Remember Sadun, the pious prince, who provided the funds; remember Serovb and Hovasap' and their brothers and parents, who prepared the vellum and had the manuscript bound. Remember Sargis, the learned rhetor and holy cleric, the writer of this, and Step'annos his pupil, who assisted him. And to those whom you remember may Christ God grant the reward of goodness, and Glory to Him forever, Amen. This holy Gospel was bound at Hohannu Vank', under the shelter of Saint Karapet, by the hand of the skilled cleric Arta(?), the pupil of the great Hohannes; with full mouth say "Lord have mercy on Hohannes; and on his pupil (?) who worked at the binding". Amen.'

On fol. 272v., in a much later hand, in *notrgir*: 'This Gospel is a memorial of Saint George.'

In a rough *bolorgir* on the same page; some of the words have been cut off with the margin, others are partly effaced: 'With the will and the grace of Jesus Christ and of the holy Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, and of all the saints on heaven and earth, in bitter and difficult times of the loss (or death) of the lawless ghan Ashrap' during the rule of Djan... ghan (?) and in Georgia (?) the reign of Melk'isedek; when Ivané, son of the pious prince baron Burt'el came and, having restored (?) his paternal monastery of Getik, was established over us; Mik'ayel and my sons Arghut'a, Umek and Grigor... We beg of this holy Gospel the prosperity (?) and progress (?) of this place for the glory of Him who is blessed forever. Amen. In the year of the Armenians 850 (= A.D. 1401) this was written in Tiflis.'

On the paper fly-leaf at the end this colophon has been recopied by a modern hand who has made a mistake in transcribing the date and has written the two letters *uy* which correspond to 800 and 100.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 50v. *Portrait of Mark.* Pl. 24.

Fol. 199v. *Portrait of John and Prochoros.* John stands on the edge of a pond, in front of a rocky background; his head is turned to the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky in the upper left corner, and he dictates to Prochoros seated on a bench at the right, in the opening of a cave. His mantle has been slightly retouched. Prochoros holds a paper in his right hand and a pen in his left hand. Gold background.

The *headpieces* consist of rectangles filled with floral motifs. On fol. 51 two concentric arches decorated one with a zigzag motif, the other with coloured disks, are inscribed in the rectangle; the lion, the symbol of Mark, is drawn in a roundel in the lunette; on fol. 200 the eagle, the symbol of John, standing full face on the book, is drawn inside a quatrefoil. Pl. 7.

The large marginal ornaments of the initial pages terminate in an ornate cross formed by interlacing lines. The pericope ornaments consist of interlacing palmettes (Pl. 6), or medallions with birds perched on them; these are replaced by crosses or temples when



required by the text. Crosses: foll. 36v., 39, 41v., 43v., 101v., 189v., 208v., 260v.; Mt. xxvi. 3, xxvi. 31, xxvi. 57, xxvii. 1; Mk. xiv. 27; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. iii. 13, xviii. 28. Temples: foll. 95v., 181v., 237v.; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. x. 22.

REMARKS. The name of one of the benefactors mentioned in the colophon. 'Sadun, the pious prince', helps us to establish the approximate date of the manuscript. Three princes of this name are known in Armenian history: Sadun I, appointed governor of Ani in 1160 by the Georgian king Giorgi III; Sadun II, who in 1191-5 assisted Mkhitar Gosh in the construction of the new monastery of Getik, north of Lake Sevan; and his grandson Sadun III, *amir spasalar* and *atabek* of the Georgian rulers, who died in 1285.¹ This last-named Sadun must be the one mentioned in our manuscript which, for stylistic and palaeographic reasons, cannot be dated before the 13th century. The date of Sadun's death, the year 1285, gives us therefore a *terminus ante quem*.

Sadun was prince of Kayen, and he and his family were primarily interested in the monastery of Haghbat, where they were all buried,² while our manuscript was bound at the famous monastery of John the Baptist, or Hohannuvank', in the province of Airarat, close to the equally celebrated monastery of Saghmosavank'. During the 13th century the princes of this region were the Vatchutians; Vatché restored Saghmosavank' in 1215 and two years later he made important donations to Hohannuvank'; his son Kurd built the porch of the church of Hohannuvank' in 1251; Hasan, the son of Kurd, gave two villages to Hohannuvank' in 1283, and a reliquary adorned with gold and silver.³ It was not unusual, however, for princes to make donations to monasteries situated outside their immediate domains, and the assistance given by Sadun does not preclude the possibility that our Gospel was written as well as bound at Hohannuvank'. For instance, Sadun had made a donation to the monastery of Aghdjots Surb Step'annos, situated in the domains of the Khaghbakians;⁴ in a manuscript begun at Khor Virap, continued at Saghmosavank', and completed in 1268 at Aghdjots Surb Step'annos, the scribe Vardan thanks, amongst other patrons, Sadun and Kurd Vatchutian. (Jerusalem, no. 1681, p. 148.)

The name of Mkhitar *vardapet*, cited at the beginning of the colophon, and who appears to be the abbot of the monastery where the manuscript was written, also makes it more probable that this monastery was Hohannuvank' rather than Haghbat.⁵ The abbots of Haghbat are all known during this period and none of them is named Mkhitar. We are less well informed about the abbots of Hohannuvank',⁶ and only two

¹ M. Brosset, 'Recherches spéciales sur l'émir Kourde, de Sasoun, et sur l'atabek Sadoun, personnages arméniens des XII^e et XIII^e siècles', *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, iv (1860-3), 610-28. G. Hovsep'ian, 'The Council of Dzagavan' (in Armenian), *Shoghakat'*, Vagharshapat, 1913, pp. 22-26; id., *Khaghbakians or Proshians* (in Armenian), vol. i, Vagharshapat, 1928, pp. 6, 21, 97, 134-5.

² The portrait of Sadun's son is painted on the south wall of the church of Haghbat: *Christianski Vostok*, 1912, i, pl. xxi.

³ L. Alishan, *Airarat*, Venice, 1890, pp. 162, 167-70. K. Kostanians, *Vimakan Taregir*, Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica ii, St. Petersburg, 1913, pp. 58,

60-61, 124.

⁴ G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, vol. ii, col. 150.

⁵ In his *Colophons of Manuscripts*, col. 1018, the catholicos Garegin assigns this manuscript to the monastery of Getik, on the assumption that the words 'the holy *vardapet* Mkhitar' refer to the founder of this monastery, who had died in 1213. But the argument is not conclusive, for the epithet 'holy' can be used for living persons (see for instance: *Colophons of Manuscripts*, col. 932, 'the holy *vardapet* Markos' for the owner of the manuscript); moreover, the first sentence is worded in such a way that the *vardapet* Mkhitar cannot be separated from the other members of the monastery who contributed to the Gospel.

⁶ L. Alishan, *Airarat*, pp. 169, 171, 174.



names are recorded during this period: Mkrtitch in 1243; Hamazasp in 1279 and again in 1300. Our manuscript cannot be later than 1300, since Sadun died in 1285, and if Mkhit'ar is actually the name of the abbot our Gospel should be dated before 1279, during the interim for which no abbot's name is recorded.

If the manuscript was written as well as bound at Hohannuvank' the assistance given by Sadun might be explained by the personal connexions the scribes may have had with the monastery of Haghbat. The persons named in the colophon are: the scribe Sargis, 'the learned rhetor and holy cleric'; his pupil and assistant Step'annos; and the binder Arta(?), a pupil of the 'great Hohannes'. The words 'great Hohannes' could easily apply to Hohannes IV Dop'ian, abbot of Haghbat between the years 1257 and 1285, well known for his building activities and cultural interests. On a sculptured stele he erected in 1273 Hohannes mentions, among his benefactors, the prince Sadun, and he also records, in the inscription, the name of his spiritual son Sargis *vardapet*.¹ We learn from the colophon of a manuscript written a few years earlier that Sargis was not only the spiritual son but also the nephew of the abbot Hohannes, and at that time still a student.² If this Sargis is, as I believe, the scribe and 'learned rhetor' of our manuscript, the date must be very close to 1273, when Sargis had already been awarded the degree of *vardapet*, and the fact that he copied the manuscript also explains the assistance given by Sadun, the benefactor of Haghbat and of Sargis's uncle, the abbot Hohannes.

The colophon added by a later hand raises several problems, for the date given at the end, namely, A.D. 1401, does not agree with the dates of some of the persons who are mentioned. 'Ivané, son of the pious prince Burt'el', is Ivané Orbelian, prince of Siunik'. In an inscription dated 1322 he is called a young child; he was still living in 1367, but he seems to have died before the invasion of Tamerlane.³ In 1401 the prince of Siunik' was Ivané's son Burt'el, who, shortly after, was forced to abjure his faith and was sent to exile by Mirza Omar, the son of Miranshah and grandson of Timur.

The date of 1401 does not agree either with the mention of Ashrap' or Ashraf. The passage referring to him reads: 'in the bitter and difficult times of the loss (or death) of the lawless ghan Ashrap' and the rule of Djan ... ghan.' A few letters of the last name are illegible.

Khan Ashrap' or Ashraf must be the son of Timurtash, the real ruler of the western provinces of the Mongol Empire during the puppet reign of Suliman and Anushirvan.⁴ His tyrannical rule caused him to be hated by all his subjects, and his destructions in Armenia are recalled in an inscription carved on the church of Bdjni.⁵ The inscription, dated 1358, commemorates the reconstruction, and the destruction must have taken place some years earlier, for we know from other sources that Ashraf was killed in 1357 by Janibeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde. Janibeg took over the possession of the provinces which had been ruled by Ashraf, but he died shortly after, in the autumn of 1357.⁶

¹ K. Kostaniants, *Vimakan Taregir*, p. 115.

² Etchmiadzin, no. 2604, cf. G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts T'ar*, p. 64.

³ K. Kostaniants, *Vimakan Taregir*, pp. 160-1, 170; L. Alishan, *Sisakan*, Venice, 1893, p. 96.

⁴ Sir Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*,

London, 1888, vol. iii, pp. 646 and ff.

⁵ Kostaniants, *Vimakan Taregir*, p. 169.

⁶ Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 652-3; Bertold Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 102, 108.



The partly illegible name of the colophon 'Djan...ghan' can therefore be completed to read 'Djanibeg (Janibeg) Khan', and this helps us to date it exactly in 1357, during the short period between the death of Ashraf and that of Janibeg. This date also agrees with the mention of Ivané, son of Burt'el, who had succeeded his father in 1348, or shortly earlier, and who was the lord of Siunik' in 1357.

The date of 1401 is therefore a *lapsus calami* on the part of the scribe; if we change the second letter of the date to շ = 6 instead of Ժ = 50 we would have the year 806 of the Armenian era, that is the exact date of 1357.¹

Compared to the Gospel no. 556 the ornaments of this manuscript show a later stage in the development of Armenian illumination. The wide rectangles used as headpieces and decorated with simple floral or geometric motifs, the general design of the large marginal ornament of the initial pages, the shape of the cross, the delicate and elaborate interlaces of the smaller marginal ornaments, finally the ornate initials are all characteristic examples of the work done in Great Armenia during the 13th century. The Gospels of Haghat (A.D. 1211) and of the T'argmantchats monastery (A.D. 1232) are among the earlier examples of this type of decoration, and the manuscripts illustrated by Ignatios between the years 1214 and 1236 show the development which has been carried even farther in our Gospel.²

The symbols of the Evangelists are introduced into the headpieces (Pl. 7) instead of being painted next to the initial letter of each Gospel, according to the usual custom of Great Armenia. However, this type also occurs in other manuscripts, for instance in a Gospel written in 1295 at T'eghenik, a neighbouring monastery of Hohannuvank' (Brit. Mus. Or. 2283).

The portraits of the Evangelists, which are of later date, may have been added when the manuscript was restored in 1357. Complex architectural backgrounds, formed by the juxtaposition of separate buildings, begin to appear in the 14th century.³ In this instance the architectural elements have been misunderstood and have entirely eliminated the indispensable pieces of furniture: Mark seems to be sitting on the top of a column, his footstool is suspended in mid air, and the architrave of a low wall takes the place of his desk (Pl. 24). The lectern has disappeared, leaving no support for the book drawn above the one on which the Evangelist is writing. A third book is held by his symbol, the lion, who stands facing him. This type, though rare, had already been used in Cilicia in the 13th century. In Codex no. 558 the symbol, substituted for the lectern, always holds the book on which the Evangelist is writing (Pls. 14-17).

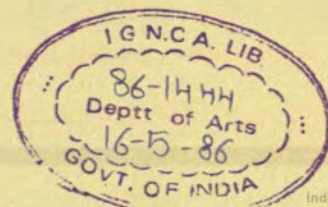
In the portrait of John and Prochoros the latter writes with his left hand. This may be due to the fact that a tracing was used and reversed. Such tracings were made by means of small pinpricks around the contours of the original composition. The scribes

¹ I have not been able to identify the Melk'isedek mentioned in the colophon; there is no record in the 14th or in the 15th centuries of a ruler or a catholicos by that name. Mik'ayel and his sons belong to a well-known family which had settled in Tiflis at the time of the Mongolian invasions. Towards the middle of the 13th century they had bought the monastery of Getik to which they made several donations: G. Hovsep'ian, 'Vakhtang, son of Umek', *Materials and*

Studies, i, pp. 1-14.

² For the Gospels of Haghat and the T'argmantchats monastery see p. 20, notes 2-4; for the work of Ignatios see S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 29-38, pls. x-xii; G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, i. 15-40, ii. 60-66; H. Kurdian, 'The Miniaturist Ignatios', *Anahit*, xiii. 3, pp. 32-44.

³ For instance in Jerusalem no. 1794, a Gospel written in 1326 in the district of Khatchen.



frequently beg the readers not to disfigure their works in this manner, though they themselves may have resorted to the custom. We find an example of this method of tracing in a manuscript of the Boston Public Library, but the holes are so small that they only show on the blank verso of the folio.¹ The small pond represented at John's feet suggests the island of Patmos where he wrote the Book of Revelation; this island is even more clearly represented in another Armenian Gospel written in the early 13th century or possibly in the last years of the 12th century.²

These two miniatures could have been painted at Tiflis, where there was a large Armenian colony; several manuscripts written in this city during the 14th century have been preserved.

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FOUR GOSPELS

13TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 3v.-4, Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus; foll. 5v.-12, Canon tables; foll. 13v. and 14, Dedicatory inscription; fol. 15v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 16-103, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 104v., Portrait of Mark; fol. 105-61v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 162v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 163-264v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 264v., Colophon; fol. 265v., Portrait of John; foll. 266-339v., Gospel of John. Two vellum fly-leaves at the beginning, foll. 1-2, in angular *erkat'agir* of the 12th century, probably taken from a Ritual.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.5 × 17.5 cm.; written surface, 18 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 340 folios; quires mostly of 8 folios numbered at the beginning and end; the numbering begins on fol. 15.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured smooth paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first page of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or geometric letters, the initials of verses are in red *erkat'agir*; the verso of the first page of each Gospel is written in gold angular *erkat'agir*. Some of the margins have been mended with white paper.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front cover: cross stamped with cord design on a large triangular base of interlace; end cover: large centre panel of intersecting circles, rectangular border of cord design. Flap stamped with interlaces; silver pegs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 13th century. Written for the catholicos Constantine I (1221-67), probably at Hromkla, in Cilicia.

COLOPHONS. The principal colophon is lost, but the dedicatory verses give the name of the owner.

¹ S. Der Nersessian, 'An Armenian Gospel of the Fifteenth Century', *The Boston Public Library Quarterly*, January 1950, pp. 16-17.

² Venice, no. 888: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, p. 95 and pl. xxxvi.

Fol. 13^v. 'My Lord Christ, Saviour of men, the head of this anointed group, who with a voice of rejoicing announced to us this book bearing the good tidings. Behold, I bring Thee Thine own, raising it in my hands I come before Thee, accept this goodly gift and look upon me with favour.'

Fol. 14. 'O Logos without beginning, the same who flourished for mankind, who poured to us the grace of Thy lips, be forever blessed. Grant that he who decorated Thy word and ornamented this writing, the Lord Kostandin, the good shepherd, be seated on the throne with Peter.'

Fol. 264^v. 'O children of the Holy Church, orders of priests wearing holy vestments . . . remember in Christ our blessed prelate, the father of us all, Ter Kostandin, the owner of this holy Gospel, and his pious parents and all his relatives; may they find mercy from Christ our God.'

On fol. 339^v. a later hand has written: 'in the year of the Armenians 325 (= A.D. 876).'

On fol. 253^v. the scribe has added the following remark in red *bolorgir*, referring by means of a small mark to Lk. xxii. 43-44: 'This passage is found in the Gospels of the Franks, of the Syrians and of the Greeks, but not in those of the Alexandrians. And the Gospel of the Armenians seems to have been translated from the latter, for this passage did not occur in the Armenian Gospels. But all the commentators recall it; they remember it and give an explanation. And I, having found it written in my model, I also wrote it (here).'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 15^v. *Matthew* wears a blue tunic and a light purple mantle, gold background. Inscription: 'Saint Matthew.' Pl. 14.

Fol. 104^v. *Mark* is clothed like Matthew; gold background. Inscription: 'Saint Mark.' Pl. 15.

Fol. 162^v. *Luke*. Inscription: 'Saint Luke.' Pl. 16.

Fol. 265^v. *John* wears a blue tunic almost entirely covered with a bluish-green mantle; gold background. Inscription: 'Saint John the Theologian.' Pl. 17a.

Fol. 3^v.-4. *Letter of Eusebius*. Pl. 8. The decoration of fol. 4 repeats, with slight variations, that of fol. 3^v. The two peacocks drawn above the rectangle stand at the sides of a gold vase out of which one of them is drinking. Carpius holds a closed scroll and raises one finger to his lips; the names of both Eusebius and Carpius are written next to their portraits. The capitals of the columns are formed by lions, standing on all-fours, with their heads stretched beyond the normal outlines of the capital.

Foll. 5^v.-6. *Canons 1-2*. Pl. 9. The decoration of the two pages is almost identical; the columns on fol. 5^v. have floral capitals and bases.

Foll. 7^v.-8. *Canons 3-5*. Pl. 10. There are only minor differences in the decoration of the two pages. On fol. 7^v. birds, eating the fish in a bowl, are drawn above the rectangle. The capitals of the columns consist of lions lying on their backs and supporting the architrave with their paws; on the bases are two small birds, one pecking at the other.

Foll. 9^v.-10. *Canons 6-9*. Pl. 11. There are again only minor differences between the two pages: a bird flying towards a vase and another standing next to it are drawn above the rectangle, on fol. 9^v; crouching animals, bearing the architrave or the shafts on their backs, form the capitals and bases of the columns.

Foll. 11^v.-12. *Canon 10*. Pl. 12. Same decoration on both pages except for minor



details. Above the rectangle of fol. 12 there is a fountain, and birds drink the water spouting from the openings in the shape of animal heads; the capitals of the outer columns consist of addorsed lions; that of the central column is made of a stag, standing in profile and supporting the architrave on its antlers.

Foll. 13^v.–14. *Dedicatory inscription*. Pl. 13. On fol. 14 the capitals are formed by birds, their heads projecting beyond the normal outlines of the capital; two small figures, seated back to back and holding the column, form the bases. Two stags stand at the sides of a vase placed on a chalice above the rectangle.

The *headpieces* are all Π -shaped, decorated with palmette scrolls and interlaces. Peacocks or other birds stand above the rectangles at the sides of a vase. The marginal ornament of the initial page of each Gospel is formed by interlacing palmettes and surmounted by a large cross on a staff. See Pl. 17^b for the headpiece of the Gospel of John.

The elegant marginal ornaments of the pericopes show various combinations of floral interlaces; these are replaced by other motifs when required by the text: temples (foll. 60^v., 83, 130^v., 147^v., 247^v., 302^v.; Mt. xvi. 13, xxiv. 1; Mk. viii. 27, xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. x. 22); crosses (foll. 93, 95, 153, 255^v., 314, 326, 328; Mt. xxvi. 31, xxvi. 57; Mk. xiv. 27; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xiii. 16, xviii. 2, xviii. 28); trees (foll. 140, 141^v.; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12); a chalice or an urn, usually on a stepped pedestal (foll. 118^v., 192^v., 230, 245^v., 292^v., 312; Mk. v. 21; Lk. vii. 36, xvi. 1, xx. 21–26; Jn. vii. 37, xii. 44); two fishes in a bowl (fol. 210^v., Lk. xi. 11); and a candelabra (fol. 212^v., Lk. xi. 33). On fol. 245^v. a gold coin is placed on the chalice; in the centre of this coin can be seen a round face, and all around the edge are traces of Greek letters. The only part that can be deciphered reads ΓΡΟ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΟΣ. The ornament illustrates Lk. xx. 21–26: 'render unto Caesar, &c.'

REMARKS. This manuscript is an outstanding example of Cilician art in the 13th century. The figures of the Evangelists are well proportioned; the ample draperies fall in graceful folds, and the slight stylization enhances the decorative effect of the compositions while still respecting the natural forms. The faces, hands, and feet are delicately modelled with green shadows. Soft blues, greens, and browns, enlivened by bright touches of red, create most pleasing colour harmonies. The ornaments are drawn with great precision and the predominant use of blue against the gold background, as well as the clear outlines of the various motifs, produce the effect of cloisonné enamels.

The catholicos Kostandin, or Constantine I, the owner of this manuscript, was one of the foremost art patrons of his time; several manuscripts written at the patriarchal see of Hromkla for him, or at his command, have been preserved.¹

At least three different painters are known to have worked for Constantine I: Kirakos in A.D. 1244 and A.D. 1249;² Hohannes in A.D. 1253;³ T'oros Roslin in A.D. 1256, 1260, and 1268.⁴ The colophons having been lost we do not know the names of the

¹ G. Hovsep'ian, 'Kostandin I Catholicos', *Materials and Studies*, ii. 5–44.

² Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 69/151, Gospel, A.D. 1244: Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i, cols. 647–54; S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 76, 91. Erivan, no. 84 (formerly at Nor Nakhitchevan), Gospel, A.D. 1249; silver binding dated A.D. 1255: Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 13.

³ Washington, Freer Gallery, no. 44.17 (formerly

Constantinople, Armenian National Library, no. 68). The name of the scribe is written between the lines in the colophon.

⁴ Gospel (formerly at Zeitun, now at the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul), A.D. 1256: A. Surméyan, *Catalogue . . . d'Alep*, ii. 136–42, and G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., pp. 26–28. Jerusalem, no. 251, Gospel, A.D. 1260 G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., p. 28 and fig. 4; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxv. 1;

illustrator of the Beatty manuscript nor of the Gospel presented c. 1250 by the catholicos to his godchild, Prince Leo, the son of Het'um I.¹

The figure style of the Evangelist portraits in our manuscript differs from that of T'oros Roslin;² the proportions of the figures are fuller, the draperies more ample, the modelling more delicate. The facial types also differ from those of the portraits painted by Hohannes (Freer Gallery, no. 44.17). There is an even greater difference between the miniatures and ornamental compositions of our manuscript and those painted by Kostandin, a younger contemporary of T'oros Roslin and Hohannes, who should also be taken into consideration. For although his name does not appear in any of the extant manuscripts written by order of the catholicos, he could have been employed by him since he had already begun to work in 1263.³

T'oros Roslin and the scribe Kostandin, like the majority of Cilician painters, always paint the symbol of the Evangelist for the first letter of each Gospel, while in our manuscript the initials are formed by a wide band decorated with linear interlaces and small flowers. This earlier type, more common in Great Armenia than in Cilicia, is consistently used by Kirakos. Besides the two manuscripts he illustrated for Constantine I in 1244 and 1249, several others commissioned by different patrons have survived: a Lectionary written in 1239 for Bishop Grigor and offered to Drazark;⁴ a Gospel written in 1248 at Hromkla for Bishop Stephen;⁵ a Gospel written in 1265 at the monastery of Mashkevor for a certain Theodosius;⁶ and finally Codex no. 613 of this Collection written for Bishop Simeon during the reign of Het'um I (1226-70) and the primacy of catholicos Constantine I (1221-67).

Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, ii, 46, 87, 124. Gospel of A.D. 1268, formerly at Malatia, now at Jerusalem, no. 3627; G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., pp. 40-41; Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, i, 324-7.

¹ Formerly at Nor Nakhitchewan, no. 14, now at Erivan: G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., p. 20; M. Ter Movsesian, op. cit., pp. 14-16 and pl. 1, portrait of Leo: Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, ii, p. 26.

² See p. 28, note 4. The other manuscripts illustrated by T'oros Roslin are: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, Gospel of A.D. 1262: H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *Hand List*, no. 351; G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., figs. 2-3, 5-6; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxviii. Jerusalem, no. 2660, Gospel, A.D. 1262: Buchthal and Kurz, op. cit., no. 421; G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., figs. 7-8; S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., pl. xxvii, 1. Jerusalem, no. 1956, Gospel, A.D. 1265: Buchthal and Kurz, op. cit., no. 414; G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., figs. 9-13. Jerusalem, no. 2027, Ritual, A.D. 1266: G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit., figs. 14-18; Buchthal and Kurz, op. cit., no. 415.

³ The following manuscripts written or illustrated by Kostandin are known: Paris, Hachette Coll., Gospel, A.D. 1263; Etchmiadzin, no. 222/287, Bible, A.D. 1268; Venice San Lazzaro, no. 600/152, Gospel, A.D. 1269; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 740, Gospel, A.D. 1274 (Buchthal and Kurz, op. cit., no. 459); Etchmiadzin, no. 226/195, Bible, A.D. 1284-8.

⁴ Vienna, no. 53: J. Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, p. 37; for a fuller description

see the Armenian part of this catalogue, pp. 250-1. There are no ornate headpieces in this manuscript, but only floral marginal ornaments.

⁵ Antilias, no. 1, formerly at Sis. A. Surm'yan, *Catalogue*, ii, pp. 1-10. The manuscript still has the rich silver binding made in 1257.

⁶ Manuscript at Roman in Rumania, see H. Dj. Sirouni, 'Note armene', *Revista Istorică*, Bucharest, vol. xv, June 1929, p. 135; S. Kolandjian, 'Treasury of Rumano-Armenian Culture' (in Armenian), *Etchmiadzin*, 1948, Oct.-Dec., pp. 60-65. In an Armenian paper published in Bucharest, *Araz*, Sirouni reproduced the first page of the Gospels of Mark and Luke from a manuscript which, according to the captions, is a 14th-century manuscript from Jassy. Sirouni (op. cit., p. 136) and Macler (*Revue des études arméniennes*, x, 38) list two manuscripts from Jassy, only one of which is a Gospel, and this Gospel was copied at Cafra, in Crimea, in 1451. The ornaments of the two pages reproduced in *Araz* differ from the style of illumination done in Crimea during the 14th and 15th centuries, while, on the contrary, they bear the greatest resemblance to the style of Kirakos as seen in the Gospel of Venice no. 69, A.D. 1244, the Gospel of Antilias, A.D. 1248, and Codex no. 613 of this Collection. It seems to me therefore that, through some confusion, the wrong caption was placed under the reproductions (there is no reference to the reproductions in the accompanying text) and these two pages belong, not to the Gospel of Jassy, but to the Gospel of Roman, illustrated by Kirakos in 1265 (Macler, op. cit., p. 38).



The Canon tables and headpieces of the Gospel of 1248, the headpieces of the Gospel of 1265 and of Codex no. 613, closely resemble those of our manuscript. In the Gospel written in 1244 for Constantine I (Venice, no. 69), although the general character of the decoration and the marginal ornaments are similar, more complex linear interlaces are used, and lion and human masks appear in the floral scrolls. These are minor differences which one would expect to find in the work of a gifted man who did not repeat the same compositions, and the identification of the painter of our manuscript with Kirakos is fully proved by a comparison with the Gospel of A.D. 1248 (Antilias, no. 1). The hand of the same artist can be recognized not only in the ornamental compositions, but, what is more significant, in the style and technique of the Evangelist portraits.

The range of ornamental motifs is fairly restricted in our manuscript; birds mingle with the foliage only in the rectangles above the Letter of Eusebius; elaborate linear interlaces are never used, and the simpler floral forms constitute the principal elements of the decoration. In the ornamental compositions drawn above and around the Canon tables and headpieces we do not encounter the fantastic creatures often represented in other manuscripts of the 13th century. There is greater variety in the types of capitals and bases. In addition to the addorsed birds and human-headed griffons, or sphinxes, also used in other manuscripts, we find two hares seated back to back and two small men in the same position (Pls. 8, 11–13). Human figures also form the capitals; kneeling on the column they support the architrave with outstretched hands (Pl. 10). Occasionally the animal figures, birds, or quadrupeds (Pl. 13 and fol. 4) support the architrave on their backs, and their heads extend beyond the ideal boundaries of the capital.

When the symbol of the Evangelist does not form the initial of the Gospel it is usually introduced inside the frame of the portrait of the Evangelist. In the Gospel of 1253 (Freer, no. 44.17) the symbol is figured above the buildings placed behind Matthew, Mark, and Luke; in the portrait of John the eagle is perched on the tall lectern. This type of composition already occurs in Byzantine manuscripts of the 11th and 12th centuries: in the Gospel of the British Museum Add. 11838 the symbols appear in the segment of sky, facing the Evangelists; in a Gospel of Moscow, Gr. 14, they are figured in the upper left corner, behind the Evangelists, the upper right corner being filled with a Gospel scene. The eagle is perched on the lectern in the Gospel no. 5 of the Treasury of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople,¹ but I know of no contemporary or earlier example in which the symbols take the place of the lectern as they do in our Gospel (Pls. 14–17).² Lecterns in the shape of animals are sometimes used, but these imaginary forms have no connexion with the four symbols.

The figure representations and the ornamental compositions of the Canon tables and headpieces and the great variety of marginal ornaments are all of the highest artistic quality; the painter Kirakos must have been one of the ablest artists of Cilicia. The portraits of the Evangelists show a greater mastery and maturity than those of the Gospel of A.D. 1248: our manuscript should therefore be dated in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, between 1248 and 1267.

¹ Sotiriou, *Κεφάλια τοῦ Οἰκουµενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου: Πατριαρχικὸς ναὸς καὶ Σκευοφυλάκιον*, Athens, 1937, pl. 63.

² For a later example of this type, see the miniatures added in the 14th century to Codex no. 557, pl. 24.

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

DATED A.D. 1311

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Two paper leaves from a Gospel, mounted; the miniatures measure 25.4 × 20.2 cm.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1311 by the priest Dser, and illuminated by the deacon T'oros (see 'Remarks').

ILLUSTRATIONS. 1. *Dormition of the Virgin.* The Virgin lies, with folded arms, facing left. Behind the bed, Christ, turned to the right, raises with both hands the soul of the Virgin, in the shape of a new born child, three angels fly down in order to receive it. Another angel, holding an incense box, stands on the left, next to Christ, and further left are two apostles. The remaining ten apostles are grouped on the right, in front of a ciborium-shaped building; a few hold half-open books, others raise their veiled hands to their eyes. On the rocky foreground, to the right, stands a deacon holding a censer and a small incense box. Inscription next to him: 'T'or(os).'

2. *Deesis.* Frontispiece.

REMARKS. The figures are painted in vivid colours—mostly red and blue, with some green, lilac, and brown—against the gold background. The angels and seraphim have green wings and red tips touched with white. The faces of all the figures are in a uniform blue shadow tone, with some white high lights and a few strokes of red; the features are drawn with dark lines. Both compositions are impressive and monumental in character.

These two leaves, formerly in the Sevadjan Collection, were published by Macler, together with four other leaves from the same manuscript in the Rosenberg Collection and which now belong to Mr. H. Hazarian of New York; they represent the Ascension, Pentecost, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Virgin presenting to Christ the painter T'oros.¹

It has been conclusively proved by Mr. H. Kurdian that these miniatures originally belonged to the Gospel no. 1 of the Church of the Theotokos in Tabriz, copied in 1311 by the priest Dser and illuminated by the deacon T'oros, for the prayer of intercession written by the painter under the dedication scene was transcribed in the catalogue published in 1910, when the manuscript was still intact.² Thanks to other transcriptions, Mr. Kurdian was again able to identify three of the missing portraits: the portrait of Matthew is now in the Robert Garrett Collection of Princeton University, that of Luke was acquired by Mr. Kurdian in 1943, and he saw at the same time, in New York, the badly damaged portrait of Mark.³

The cycle of illustrations, including other miniatures assigned to this manuscript for

¹ F. Macler, *Documents*, pls. xcic-ci.

² H. Kurdian, 'An Armenian Miniature of the 14th Century', in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, iv (1943), 109-12; H. Adjarian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in Täbriz*, Vienna, 1910,

pp. xiii and 70-74.

³ H. Kurdian, op. cit., pp. 109-10 and pls. 1 and 2. The name of the painter T'oros is written under the portraits of Matthew and Luke.

stylistic reasons, has been discussed in the Introduction on pp. xxx-xxxii; I shall only consider here the two leaves belonging to this Collection.

The Dormition of the Virgin does not appear in Armenian art before the 13th century. The earliest known example is the painting in the church of St. Gregory at Ani, built by Tigran Honents in 1215; shortly after we find this scene in the Gospel of the monastery of T'argmantchats, A.D. 1232, (Etchmiadzin, no. 2743/1058), and again in 1307 in the Gospel illustrated by T'oros of Taron (Venice no. 1917).¹ The composition of our miniature differs in several respects from these earlier Armenian examples and from the usual Byzantine iconography;² the apostles are not divided into two symmetrical groups, Peter has not been singled out and given a prominent place at the foot of the Virgin's bed; the Jew Jephonias is not represented; the angel standing next to Christ plays the role of a deacon and holds an incense-box. The rocky foreground is a characteristic feature of the miniatures painted by the deacon T'oros. T'oros has added his own portrait, in deacon's robes and seemingly taking part in the burial rites of the Virgin, instead of humbly kneeling as the donors or scribes are usually figured when introduced into one of the Gospel scenes.

The second miniature is a more complex representation having as its central theme a modified version of the Deesis (Frontispiece). The simple representation of the Deesis, the Virgin and John standing at the sides of Christ in the attitude of prayer, had been known to Armenian artists since the middle of the 11th century,³ and during the following centuries we find it in sculptured works as well as miniatures. The central figure of Christ differs from these examples in that He is seated on a throne from the four sides of which project the heads of the four beasts who, according to the Book of Revelation, were 'round about the throne' (iv. 6, 7). An eschatological element is thus introduced, which in its details differs from Byzantine examples. When the Deesis forms the central group of the Last Judgement the tetramorphs, conforming in type to the vision of Ezekiel, one body with four different heads, stand before Christ's throne,⁴ while in the images of Christ in majesty painted in the apses, where Christ in a mandorla is surrounded by the four beasts, the Virgin and Christ are not represented.⁵ In composing his group of the Deesis the artist has used the type of enthroned Christ frequently represented separately on the Armenian monuments of this period, a type which we also find in the apses of Cappadocian churches.⁶

¹ J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918, p. 301, fig. 339. The scene of the Dormition in the T'argmantchats Gospel is the fully developed type: Christ is surrounded by angels; two angels descend from heaven to receive the soul of the Virgin; in the foreground we see the archangel and the Jew Jephonias, and in the background are houses with women looking out of the windows. For Venice no. 1917 see S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 130-1 and pl. LIII, fig. 117.

² L. Wratislaw-Mitrovic and N. Okuniev, 'La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe', *Byzantinoslavica*, iii (1931), 134-74.

³ Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1400: K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei*, pl. XIII, fig. 44.

⁴ For instance, at the cathedral of Torcello, near

Venice (G. Lorenzetti, *Torcello*, Venice, 1939, p. 50). In other examples two or four seraphim appear under the mandorla: Paris, Gr. 74 (H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1908, vol. i, pl. 41); ivory of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory*, London, 1927, vol. i, pl. xxii).

⁵ For the different examples and the discussion of this theme see F. Van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini*, Rome-Paris, 1938; G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican*, Paris, 1945; A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1943-6, vol. ii, pp. 207-34.

⁶ G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925-33, I, pl. 39.2, III, pls. 150, 153.1, 186.2, 191.3. For the Armenian examples see Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 131-3.

The eschatological meaning of this scene is further emphasized by the addition of two seraphim according to the vision of Isaiah, 'I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim; each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly' (vi. 1-2).¹ The two archangels in the foreground, holding lances of which only the lower half has been drawn, have perhaps been included to suggest the Lord's train that 'filled the temple' or the thousands who stood before Him according to the vision of Daniel (vii. 10).

These various elements combined in an original composition give us an abbreviated, but most impressive image of Christ come to Judgement. A more elaborate Byzantine composition of the 14th century offers an interesting parallel. On the so-called Dalmatic of Charlemagne, in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, Christ seated on a globe is surrounded by the choirs of angels and the orders of the saints; His feet rest on the winged wheels, the four beasts project from the mandorla, and the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at the sides in an attitude of supplication. Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom and the good robber holding the cross are represented in the lower corners of the dalmatic.² Our composition does not show the Judgement itself, but it is probable that the eschatological theme was developed on other miniatures following this one.³

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EPISTLES, ACTS, REVELATION (incomplete)

14TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-17v., Galatians iii. 2 to the end of the Epistle to Philemon; foll. 17v.-18v., Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul and Paul's Third Epistle to the Corinthians; foll. 19-21v., Preface of Acts and of the Catholic Epistles; foll. 22-36, Acts; foll. 36v.-44v., Catholic Epistles; foll. 44v.-45, Exhortation of Euthalius and index of Revelation; foll. 45-48v., Revelation till ch. xv. 2. In addition to the usual Armenian divisions, the 'chapters of the Franks' are also indicated.

MEASUREMENTS. 25.2 × 18.2 cm.; written surface, 18.7 × 13 cm.; 3 columns of 50 or 51 lines. 48 folios; these formed quires 45 to 48 of the complete manuscript.

PAPER AND WRITING. White, fine vellum. Small *bolorgir* in black ink faded in parts. The initials of the pericopes are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the titles in red *bolorgir*.

¹ The vision of Isaiah, in its simpler form, with the seraphim at the sides of the enthroned Christ, occurs in Byzantine art in the 9th-century manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes: C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della topographia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, pl. 37, while in the manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Gr. 510), also of the 9th century, the choirs of angels appear below the enthroned Christ: H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. xxv.

² G. Millet, *La Dalmatique*, pp. 1-6 and *passim*.

For a reproduction see O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, fig. 380. In a Byzantine manuscript of Cyprus the four animals project from the large circular mandorla enclosing the Deesis (G. Sotiriou, *Tà byzantinà mniméia tēs Kýprou*, Athens, 1935, pl. 133). Sotiriou assigns this manuscript to the 11th-12th centuries, but the figure style and especially the shape of the smaller mandorla drawn around Christ alone—an oval with angular projections forming an eight-point star—suggest a later date.

³ See Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxii.



BINDING. No binding, loose quires.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 14th century. Written in Cilicia by Husip' for Smbat, son of the Constable Leo.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 20v., col. 3. 'Jesus Christ have mercy on the owner of this holy Bible and on the scribe. Amen.'

Fol. 38v., col. 1. 'The Epistle of James is ended. Lord God, Jesus Christ have mercy on the God-loving baron Smbat, son of baron Levon the Constable, and give this for his enjoyment and that of his (relatives) after him and grant forgiveness to his dead and to all his children. Together with them to me, the sinful scribe Husip' and to my parents, and may the Lord Jesus have mercy upon you who remember (us). Amen.'

Fol. 18v. In gold *bolorgir*, by a later hand. 'The owner of this Biblical manuscript, the *vardapet* Karapet and his parents, and the master Hakob and his parents and me, Martiros, who wrote these few lines in gold, remember us in the Lord, and may you also be remembered. Amen, a thousand Amens.'

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Fol. 22. Headpiece of the Acts of the Apostles. Inscription above the marginal figure: 'Luke.' Pl. 18.

The portraits of the authors of the Catholic Epistles are drawn in the margins at the beginning of each epistle: fol. 37, James; fol. 38v., Peter; fol. 41v., John in bust; fol. 44, Jude in bust; fol. 45, John, above him the Hand of God.

Narrow bands decorated with floral scrolls precede the books on foll. 2, 4, 5v., 7, 8, 9v., 14, 15v., 16v., 17, 17v., 19, 36v., 37, 38v., 40, 41v., 43, 43v.

REMARKS. In 1879 the complete manuscript, which was a Bible, belonged to the church of St. Sargis at Erzinjan, and some of the colophons were transcribed by Garegin *vardapet* Srvandztian.¹ One of these belongs to the time of the copy: 'Heavenly king, prepare thy heavenly paradise for the owner of this holy book baron Smbat, the son of baron Levon, Constable of the Armenians, and together with them to his parents and to all his children . . . and to the false scribe Husep'. . . . Forgive the largeness (of the script) for I was writing with glass eyes (spectacles).' Another colophon gives the date of the second owner: 'The last owner of this Bible, the *vardapet* Karapet and his father the priest Mkrtitch and his mother Elizabeth, and his sister Martha, and all their relatives, and his teacher Hakob . . . and all the congregation of this monastery of Apahunik' . . . remember them in Christ. . . . This was written in the year of the Armenians 898 (= A.D. 1449).'

The original owner of the manuscript can be identified through the colophon added in 1319 to a Lectionary which had been written in 1268 for the Constable Smbat, the brother of King Het'um I (Vat. Borgianus Arm. 61). This colophon is a long eulogy of the marshal Baldwin, the second owner of the Lectionary, and it mentions that the manuscript was bound, at that time, by the great prince Smbat, lord of Smbatakla, son of the Constable Leo, son of Smbat, the father-in-law of the marshal Baldwin.² The owner of our manuscript Smbat, son of the Constable Leo, is thus the grandson of the great Constable of Armenia, Smbat (†1276), the brother of King Het'um I. We know

¹ Srvandztian *T'oros Aghbar* ii, p. 296.

² E. Tisserant, *Codices Armeni bibliothecae Vati-*

canae, Borgiani, Vaticani, Barberiniani, Chisiani, Rome, 1927, pp. 100-1.



from other sources that Smbat, the owner of our manuscript, was present at the meeting held in the church of St. Sophia at Sis in 1307; he was one of the signatories of the Synod of Adana in 1316,¹ and as we see from the colophon of the Vatican manuscript he was still living in 1319. Our manuscript was probably written during the first quarter of the 14th century. A scribe by the name of Hovsep' copied a Hymnal at Sis in 1323,² but as neither this Hovsep' nor the scribe of our manuscript gives the names of his parents, we cannot be certain that they are the same person.

The ornaments and the portraits of the apostles painted in the margins are very similar to the paintings of Sargis Pidsak, but they do not seem to me to be his work. Sargis Pidsak always accentuates the shadow above the bridge of the nose and the eyebrows seem to meet; in our manuscript this shadow is less deep in the portrait of Luke, and in that of John there is none at all. The facial types of these evangelists also differ slightly from those painted by Sargis; Luke has a rounder face, John is less bald, and both have small ears placed high up. The drawing of the standing figure in the margin is less firm than in the work of Sargis; the drapery is slightly more stylized, the sleeves and the hem of the tunic end in a small roll. All these points of detail differentiate our manuscript from those illustrated by Sargis Pidsak, even from his earlier works such as the Bible of A.D. 1319. In many respects the style of our manuscript is more closely allied with that of a Gospel written in 1282 at Drazark by the scribe Hohannes (Brit. Mus. Or. 5626). In other manuscripts of the late 13th century we find a style similar to that of Sargis Pidsak;³ it is probable that our miniaturist belonged to this slightly older generation and that the scribe Hovsep' who copied the manuscript also executed the ornamental designs and the marginal figures.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1329

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; foll. 11-12v., Headings, preface, and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; foll. 13-93, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 93-94v., Headings, preface, and concordance of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 95v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 96-145, Gospel of Mark; foll. 145v.-148, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 148v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 149-229, Gospel of Luke; foll. 229-230v., Headings and preface of the Gospel of John; foll. 231-89v., Gospel of John; foll. 289v.-291, Colophons.

Lacunae. Portraits of Matthew and John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 23 × 16.5 cm.; written surface, 16.5 × 11.5 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 291 folios; quires of 11 or 12 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin, white vellum. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter

¹ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, ii, cols. 1787 and 1819.

² Erzerum, Sanasarian School, no. 2; see *Handes Amsorya*, x (1896), p. 26.

³ In addition to the works listed in S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, p. 165, see Erivan, no.

211, before A.D. 1276: Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 53-56; G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts Tar*, fig. 33. Etchmiadzin, no. 5784/1030, Gospel of A.D. 1293, Svirine, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; zoomorphic or floral letters are used for the first page of each Gospel and the pericope initials. The other initials are in gold. The first line of each pericope is in gold *bolorgir*, the second in red.

BINDING. Brown leather on boards, not stamped.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written and illuminated in A.D. 1329 at Sis by the priest Sargis (Pidsak) for King Leo IV (V).

COLOPHONS. Foll. 289^v.–291. ‘Glory to the immortal and eternal King of Glory Christ... who gave to the unworthy and sinful scribe... Sargis, falsely called a priest, the strength to finish this... For I finished this Gospel book in the year of the Armenians 778 (= A.D. 1329), having done everything by my unworthy self, first the luminous words..., second the capital letters, third all the illuminations with gold, fourth the headpieces and the four Evangelists, fifth the concordance with gold illuminations and the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus. I completed everything through the power of God, not through my own efforts, but with the help of God, during the reign over the Armenians of the pious and God-loving Levon (Leo); may the Lord God strengthen his rule now and forever over all his enemies... And as it is said in the Book of Psalms, “Mayest thou see the sons of thy sons in peace over Israel”, so also may the prophecy of David... be fulfilled for our pious king, Levon the fourth, the son of the pious and God-loving king of the Armenians Oshin, resting in Christ, the hope of all, and may he see the sons of his sons in peace throughout the days of his life, and everywhere. And, after many years, may Christ our God make him worthy of His holy paradise and celestial kingdom, and crown with the celestial crown, him and his parents, the good king Oshin and his God-loving queen Zablun, also called Zabel, and may He grant them the enjoyment of this holy Gospel in His holy kingdom.

This holy Gospel was written in the metropolis of Sis, under the protection of the holy archangels Gabriel and Michael, during the primacy of Ter Hakob, the nephew, (on his mother’s side) of Ter Grigor, catholicos of the Armenians. I beseech you all, who will use this or copy it, remember the pious and God-loving king Levon and his parents, the first kings and queens, so that the Lord may have mercy upon them and rest them in peace in His holy paradise, Amen. And together with them (remember) me the unworthy and humble priest Sargis, and my parents, the priest Grigor and Heghiné, who have departed to Christ. And whosoever remembers us and, in his heart, begs for the remission of our sins, may he receive a hundred-fold for one from Christ our God, who is blessed forever, Amen.’

At the end of fol. 291 six lines are added in *notrgir*: ‘In the year of the Armenians 1143 (= A.D. 1694) (this book) was deposited as a memorial in the church of the Holy Theotokos. For, previously, it was at Saint Nicholas, but that church is now burnt and left deserted. Because of this it was placed at the church of the Holy Theotokos, so that it might be read daily and the owner remembered with a “Father, I have sinned”.’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Mark* (Pl. 20) meditating, and *Luke* (fol. 148^v.) writing, are seated before a table placed under a ciborium-like construction with the name of the Evangelist written on the architrave. The Hand of God, blessing,



comes out of the segment of sky in the upper right or left corner. A drapery hangs from a hook attached to the upper frame and comes down behind the Evangelists. The face of Luke is partly rubbed off.

Letter of Eusebius (foll. 1v.-2). The bust portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted under pointed arches set in a wide rectangular band; sirens among floral interlaces decorate the spandrels. The *Canon tables* (fol. 3v.-10) are decorated with floral interlaces; birds are perched on the trees in the margins, on the ends of the architrave, and above the rectangular bands. On foll. 7v. and 8, lions are seated in the outer margins, next to the rectangles, and on foll. 9v. and 10 there are monkeys holding candles. The *headpieces* of the Gospels are Π -shaped (fol. 96v.) or have multifoil arches opening into the rectangle (Pl. 19). The floral interlaces are enclosed in roundels on foll. 13 and 231; small birds or sirens fill the spandrels of fol. 231. The headpiece of the Gospel of Luke (fol. 149) is filled with an all-over pattern of leaves forming crosses; in the centre an eagle, swooping down, holds a small bird in its claws.

The marginal ornaments on the initial page of each Gospel fill the entire margin; they are formed by interlacing palmettes, surmounted by an ornate cross, and sometimes with a crouching animal at the base of the ornament (Pl. 19). The marginal ornaments of the pericopes are for the most part floral interlaces or birds; these are occasionally replaced by figures, usually drawn in bust above the ornament, or by other motifs directly connected with the text: Christ, blessing (foll. 61, 72, 108v., 118v., 137, 161, 252; Mt. xix. 1, xxiii. 1; Mk. v. 21, viii. 27, xiv. 27; Lk. iv. 14; Jn. vii. 37); the head of John the Baptist on a platter (foll. 49, 111; Mt. xiv. 1; Mk. vi. 14); Joseph of Arimathea (foll. 143, 284v.; Mk. xv. 42; Jn. xix. 38); a small boy on a tree (foll. 65v., 126v., 210v.; Mt. xx. 29; Mk. x. 46; Lk. xix. 29); two holy women holding lamps (fol. 91v., Mt. xxviii. 1); Christ and the disciples on the way to Emmaus (fol. 226v., Lk. xxiv. 13); Christ carrying the cross (fol. 283, Jn. xix. 17); Christ healing the paralytic (fol. 242, Jn. v. 1); and the man born blind (fol. 257, Jn. ix. 1); the Annunciation (foll. 150v. and 151, Lk. i. 26); Augustus (fol. 154, Lk. ii. 1); two shepherds (fol. 154v., Lk. ii. 8); a woman kneeling (fol. 191v., Lk. xii. 32); Judas (fol. 278v., Jn. xviii. 2); trees (foll. 67, 127v., 265v.; Mt. xxi. 18; Mk. xi. 12; Jn. xii. 12); temples (foll. 75, 215, 250v., 261; Mt. xxiv. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. vii. 14 and x. 22); a cock (fol. 87, Mt. xxvi. 75); a demon (fol. 186, Lk. xi. 14); flames rising from a bowl (fol. 192v., Lk. xii. 49); birds with cross nimb and rays (foll. 240, 271v., 272; Jn. iv. 24, xiv. 15, xiv. 25).

REMARKS. This manuscript, which is in an excellent state of preservation except for the two missing portraits, is a typical example of the art of Sargis Pidsak, the best painter of Cilicia in the 14th century. Two years after completing this Gospel he was again employed by the king, and he painted his portrait as the frontispiece of the Assizes of Antioch, which he copied for him.¹ The portraits of the Evangelists, some of the decorated pages, and many of the marginal vignettes of our manuscript are almost identical with those of a Gospel he illustrated in 1331.²

¹ Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 107; see V. Hatsuni, *History of the Armenian Costume* (in Armenian), Venice, 1924, p. 244.

² Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 16, see S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pls. LXVI-CXIII. For a fuller discussion of the work of Sargis Pidsak see

ibid., pp. 137-66, and the Introduction of this volume, pp. xxviii-xxix. Several other manuscripts can be added to the works listed in S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-41. Jerusalem, no. 2434, *Khazgirk'*, A.D. 1321; Jerusalem, nos. 2355, 1644, 1620, Hymnals dated 1320, 1322, and 1324; Jerusalem, no. 1930, Books of the

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1364

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1v., Canon table painted later; foll. 2v.-3, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 4v.-11, Canon tables; fol. 12v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 13-80, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 81v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 82-124v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 125v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 126-95v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 196, Colophon; fol. 196v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 197-249v., Gospel of John; fol. 250-250v., Colophon.

Lacunae. Fol. 126v. is left blank, but the text continues without interruption on fol. 127.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 26.5 × 18 cm.; written surface, 19 × 12.5 cm.; 2 columns of 23 to 26 lines each. 250 folios + 4 unnumbered at the beginning.

PAPER AND WRITING. Polished, cream paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first two lines of Matthew, the first line of the other Gospels and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; those of the verses are in red capitals.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards, with flap, stamped with a large cross on three steps on the front cover, and a cross in a circle on the end cover. Marks of small metal cross and studs; small clasp; loose back.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1364 for the elder Astvadsatur.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 124v. 'O holy priests of God, remember my soul sinful unto death. Remember in Christ also Ter Vardan who gave us the model.'

Fol. 196. 'Now I beseech you all to remember Abraham, and his parents, who adorned the church anew, and may he be remembered in the kingdom of Christ.'

Foll. 250-250v. 'Glory to the most Holy Trinity. . . . This holy Gospel was completed during the patriarchate of Mesrovp and the reign of Kostandius, in the year of the Armenians 813 (= A.D. 1364). May God grant the enjoyment of this to the elder Astvadsatur, who received it from his rightful possessions, as a memorial of himself, and of his parents, his brothers, and all his children. O children of the holy church who benefit from this, or who copy it, remember our parents Hohannes and Hrip'sime, our brother, Father Arak'el, a priest, and Khatchatur, and those who are indebted to this holy Gospel; remember them all in your pure prayers. And He who is bountiful in everything, may He grant the reward of good deeds to you, and your dead, and our dead.'

Old Testament, A.D. 1323; New York, Hazarian Collection, Hymnal, A.D. 1325; Istanbul, Church of Balat, no. 1, Gospel, A.D. 1325; Antilias, Ritual, A.D. 1328; Jerusalem, no. 1578, Hymnal, A.D. 1335; Aleppo, no. 7, Collection, A.D. 1338; Etchmiadzin, no. 1029, Gospel, A.D. 1338 (V. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi*, Moscow, 1947, p. 387); Chester Beatty Collection, no. 614, Gospel, A.D. 1342 (see below pp. 181-4). Sargis painted the Evangelist portraits of Jerusalem, no. 1949, written in A.D. 1312 in the province of Taron,

and some of the miniatures of a Bible written at Erzinjan in A.D. 1338 (Etchmiadzin, no. 359/2627, see Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 75, 80). On stylistic grounds we can assign to him the Evangelist portraits of Codex no. 613 (see below p. 181), and the illustrations of the Hymnal no. 1489 of the New York Public Library. The scribe Sargis who finished the copy of a Gospel in 1326 should probably be identified with our painter (Leiden, Or. 5495, see Macler, *Rapport sur une mission . . . en Belgique*, pp. 360-65).



ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The Evangelists *Matthew* (Pl. 25a), *Mark* (fol. 81v.), and *Luke* (fol. 125v.) are seated on benches, writing or meditating; *John*, seated in an arm-chair, dictates to Prochoros, seated on a bench (fol. 196v.). The name of each Evangelist is written in large uncials against a blue, green, or yellow background.

The *Letter of Eusebius* (foll. 2v.-3) is written under rectangles decorated with a floral scroll in white, tinted with red, drawn against a blue background; the roundels framing the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus cut the upper and lower bands of the rectangles. The rectangles of the *Canon tables* (foll. 4v.-11) are also decorated with floral scrolls or interlaces; ornate bands divide the space into triangles, or arches are inscribed in the rectangle. At the sides, instead of the usual trees, simple leaves project from the base of the rectangle; vertical bands replace the columns.

The *headpieces* are Π -shaped, or consist of large rectangles with multifoil arches opening into them and a floral motif, lodged in the openings (Pl. 25b). The decorative motifs in white, tinted with red, drawn against a deep blue or red ground, are the usual palmette scrolls, or an all-over pattern of interlacing lines with flowers in the intervening spaces. On fol. 197 a peacock and a floral motif are drawn under the opening of the arch. The large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes terminate with a cross; those which accompany the pericopes consist of small floral motifs or birds. These ornaments are replaced by other motifs when required by the text, such as trees (foll. 56, 108; Mt. xx. 29; Mk. x. 46); temples (foll. 64, 113v., 185, 226; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 6; Jn. x. 22); crosses for the Passion readings (foll. 55, 69v., 71v., 78, 116, 117v., 187, 190, 234, 236v., 238v., 245; Mt. xx. 17, xxvi. 3, xxvi. 31, xxvii. 57; Mk. xiv. 1, xiv. 27; Lk. xxii. 1, xxii. 66; Jn. xiii. 16, xiv. 25, xvi. 5, xix. 17). On fol. 181 (Lk. xix. 29) a child is climbing a tree. The rectangle of fol. 1v., divided into three horizontal bands, and resting on columns, is of a much later date; the concordance numbers of the Canon table have not been written in.

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists are painted in fairly bright colours against a deep blue, green, or yellow background; gold is used only for the nimbs. The figures have rather heavy proportions; the head is usually too large and the torso too long in relation to the rest of the body; the hands and feet are very small and awkwardly drawn (Pl. 25a). The ample draperies, with the pointed ends of the mantle projecting diagonally, recall, though in a somewhat exaggerated fashion, the style of some Cilician painters of the second half of the 13th century and, better still, that of the artists working in the province of Ekeghiats (Erzinjan), as may be seen from the Bible copied there in 1269 (Jerusalem, no. 1925).¹ This style continues in the following century, and a very good example may be seen in a Gospel written in 1335 at the monastery of St. Kirakos and the Holy Cross in the province of Ekeghiats (Oxford, Bodleian Arm.d.4). The miniaturist Nerses, who illustrated this Gospel, was influenced by Byzantine art, and he has written the names of the Evangelists in Greek as well as in Armenian; his figures are more skilfully drawn than those of our manuscript: the torsos, though somewhat long, are not entirely out of proportion, the ample draperies

¹ Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, ii. 19, 21, 32, 42, 81, 164, 190; see particularly pp. 32 and 164. These stylistic features are even more marked in the portraits of the

Evangelists or of the authors of other books of the Old and New Testaments on foll. 277, 300, 332, 415, 470, 486, 496, 513, 541, 575v.

still respect the natural forms, but we can recognize in these miniatures the type of model imitated by the painter of our manuscript. The backgrounds are painted a deep blue, as are some of the backgrounds of our manuscript, John and Prochoros are both seated, and there are marked similarities between the ornamental designs and the floral initials used in both manuscripts.

Our Gospel may therefore have been copied in the province of Ekeghiats, though the possibility of a Cilician provenance cannot be entirely excluded.

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

14TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Four loose leaves: Mk. i. 1-8; Portrait of Luke; Portrait of another Evangelist; Jn. i. 1-14.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 24 × 16.5 cm.; written surface, 19.6 × 10.5 cm. and 19.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin paper stained round the edges. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of the Gospels of Mark and of John is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel is in zoomorphic letters; the second and third lines are in red and black *erkat'agir*.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 14th century, Khizan. See Remarks.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portrait of Luke* (Pl. 27a). *Portrait of an Evangelist* (Matthew?) seated like Luke. The miniature is half finished, only the draperies and the right spandrel of the arch are painted; the left spandrel is partly coloured, the remaining parts are merely drawn. *Headpiece of the Gospel of Mark.* The large rectangle, with a complex multifoil arch opening into it, is filled with intersecting palmettes in white, slightly touched with blue, pink, and yellow, drawn against a dark red background. Above the rectangle are two confronted birds at the sides of a vase. The large marginal ornament of interlacing palmettes is crowned with a cross. *Headpiece of the Gospel of John* (Pl. 27b).

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists are painted in the style characteristic of the school of Khizan, south of Lake Van, in the 14th century: heavy figures, large round faces, long eyebrows, staring eyes with a line extending the eyelids, vertical lines drawn across the hair over the forehead. Instead of a book the Evangelists hold a large sheet of paper, with two lines drawn across it, probably to indicate the strap which held it to a board. This type of sheet, attached to a board, may be seen in many manuscripts illustrated at Khizan or in the style of Khizan,¹ and our two portraits are almost identical with those of a Gospel written in A.D. 1335 at the monastery of

¹ See Codex no. 565 and Svirine, *La Miniature*, pp. 114-15; E. Nykolskaia, op. cit., *Mystetstvoznavstvo*-

Zbirnyk, i, Kharkov, 1928-9, pp. 37-52, pls. XLVII, XLVIII, L.

St. Gamaghiel at Khizan (Paris. Arm. 333). The ornamental motifs of the headpieces the zoomorphic initials, are also very similar to those of the Paris Gospel. In fact the resemblance between the two manuscripts is so great that, were it not for a slight difference in the treatment of the draperies, these loose leaves might very well have been considered as the work of the scribe Hohannes who illustrated the Gospel of A.D. 1335.¹

Luke wears a red tunic and a green mantle; his nimb is painted yellow. The backgrounds of the headpieces are a deep red, the flowers are drawn in white, tinted blue, pink, and yellow.

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FOUR GOSPELS

15TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-3, Miniatures; foll. 3v.-4, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 4v.-7, Canon tables; fol. 7v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 8-83v., Gospel of Matthew with preface at the end; foll. 83v.-84, Colophon; fol. 84, Preface of Mark; fol. 84v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 85-133v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 133v., Colophon; foll. 133v.-134, Preface of Luke; fol. 134v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 135-211v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 211v., Colophon; fol. 212, Preface of John; fol. 212v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 213-69, Gospel of John; fol. 269, Colophon.

Lacunae. Probably several folios at the beginning with full-page miniatures and some of the Canon tables. Foll. 258-69, on a different paper and by a different hand, have been added in A.D. 1667. The manuscript proper ends with Jn. xvi. 12.

The Canon tables have not been written under the decorative frames. The Letter of Eusebius is written by the hand of the scribe who, in A.D. 1667, added the folios 258-69.

The following folios were loose and have been mounted separately: foll. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 84, 85, 134, 135, 212, 213.

MEASUREMENTS. 27 × 18.5 cm.; written surface, 20 × 12.5 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 269 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured paper. Medium size *bolorgir* in brownish ink; foll. 258-69, *bolorgir* in black ink between red vertical lines. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the initials of the verses are in red *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown, stamped leather over boards, back mended; three straps. Traces of seven metal crosses on the front cover and of one on the end cover.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 15th century. Written by the priest Karapet for Simeon *vardapet*.

¹ For other examples of the school of Khizan in this Collection see Introduction, p. xxxiv, note 6.



COLOPHONS. Fol. 4, at the end of the Letter of Eusebius, by the hand of the scribe of the colophon dated 1667: 'I am in need of the assistance of prayers. Deign to remember the miserable scribe Atom, incapable of good deeds, and may the benefactor of all have mercy on you who remember. Amen.'

Fol. 83v. 'The owner of this holy Gospel, Simeon *vardapet* and his parents and all his blood relatives, living and dead, remember them in your prayers, fathers and brothers, when you encounter this, and say "God have mercy", and ask God for the remission of their sins, so that Christ God may also have mercy on you. Together with them, the very sinful scribe, Karapet, misnamed a priest, and my father the priest Step'annos, who this year departed to Christ, deem us worthy of remembrance with one "God have mercy". And Glory forever to Christ our God.'

Fol. 133v. 'O kind readers and listeners who encounter this, remember in your prayers, rising to heaven, the owner of this, Simeon *vardapet* and, with him, his parents and all his relatives, living and dead. And say "God have mercy" at the time of the holy and awe-inspiring mass, so that Christ our God, who is blessed forever, may also forgive you. And with them deem worthy of remembrance, with a "God have mercy", this unworthy and sinful scribe.'

Fol. 211v. 'Christ, God, through Thy holy resurrection and holy Ascension, have mercy on the owner of this holy Gospel, the blessed *vardapet* Simeon... and on me, the most sinful scribe Karapet...'

Fol. 269, in a later hand. 'Glory to the Holy Trinity... This was written in the famous city of Sfayhun (Ispahan), protected by God, by the hand of the scribe Aristakes, at the door of the holy Theotokos. In the year of the Armenians 1116 (= A.D. 1667) this holy Gospel was renovated, during the patriarchate at Etchmiadzin of the Catholicos Ter Hakob and (at the time of) our superior Davit' *vardapet*. Remember again the Paron Gturik; God protect his brother Hayrapet who collaborated to the renewal of this. And may you be remembered by our Lord, Jesus Christ, Amen.'

Fol. 269v., brief note by a certain Margaré with the date 1177 (= A.D. 1728).

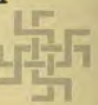
The manuscript belonged originally to the Andonian congregation at Ortakeuy; its seal is stamped on fol. 3, and the catalogue indication is written inside the cover by the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1. *Presentation and Baptism.* Inscriptions: (a) 'the bringing to the temple on the fortieth day'; (b) 'Baptism'. Pl. 28.

Fol. 1v. *Transfiguration.* Christ, in a starry mandorla, stands on the top of a high peak; on the left Elijah, and on the right Moses, bearded, holding a book, stand on similar peaks. In the foreground Peter and James point to the vision; John, between them, raises his veiled hands to his face. Inscriptions: above, 'The Transfiguration of our Saviour on mount Thabor'; below, 'The disciples Peter, James, and John, sons of Zebedee'; next to the figures, 'Jesus Christ, Elijah, Moses'.

Fol. 2. (a) *Raising of Lazarus.* Christ, followed by three disciples, advances towards the shrouded figure of Lazarus standing in the rectangular opening of a rock-cut tomb; Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet; a young man, holding a stone slab, stands next to the tomb. Inscription: 'The Raising of Lazarus.'

(b) *Entry into Jerusalem.* Christ is followed by a compact group of apostles, and



greeted by two elderly men who stand in front of a gate; a child spreads his garment before the ass's feet, another climbs on a tree. Inscription: 'The arrival on the ass'; next to the child on the tree, 'Zacchaeus'.

Fol. 2v. (a) *Washing of the Feet*. Christ, standing inside a doorway, wipes the right foot of Peter, who is seated on a high stool and points to his head. The other apostles (without nimbs) are grouped behind Peter, in three rows. Arches are drawn above the rectangle representing the room. Inscription: 'The washing of the feet.'

(b) *Communion of the Apostles*. Christ, standing next to a small table, holds a chalice in His left hand and, with the right, presents the bread to Peter. The other apostles (without nimbs) stand behind Peter in a compact group. The lower frame cuts all the figures below the knees. Inscription: 'The mass in the upper chamber.'

Fol. 3. *Pentecost*. The apostles are seated in two groups above an arched opening; large green, blue, and brown rays descend on their heads from the mouth of the dove flying downward from the segment of sky. Below, in a rectangular section under the arched opening, stand three men: in the centre, a young crowned figure holding a lance, and next to him at the sides, two youths in pointed caps; the one on the right holds an open scroll. Inscription: 'The descent of the Holy Ghost on the holy apostles.'

The Evangelists *Matthew* (fol. 7v.), *Mark* (fol. 84v.), and *Luke* (fol. 134v.) are seated writing or meditating in front of a table; the symbol of each Evangelist is represented in the segment of sky in the upper right corner. *John* dictates to Prochoros (Pl. 29).

The portraits of Eusebius and Carpius are painted under trefoil arches set in rectangles which, like those of the *Canon tables*, are decorated with floral scrolls or interlaces, coloured a light brown. The backgrounds are green or blue; occasionally partly green and partly blue. On fol. 5v. a monkey holding a candle is drawn in the outer margin next to the rectangle.

Complex arches open into the wide rectangles of the *headpieces*; these are decorated with floral scrolls, interlacing lines forming lozenges, squares, or eight-point stars, with small flowers drawn in the intermediary spaces. The backgrounds are dark red or blue, and the floral or geometric motifs are tinted red, blue, or green.

The fairly simple marginal ornaments, consisting of floral scrolls, are occasionally replaced by birds, sirens, quadrupeds, and by the following figures or motifs related to the text: fol. 82, a holy woman (Mt. xxviii. 1); fol. 137, the angel of the Annunciation (Lk. i. 26); fol. 140v., a shepherd (Lk. ii. 8); and temples on foll. 120v. and 198v. (Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5).

REMARKS. Several folios are missing in the first quire, and this probably explains the absence of some of the important scenes which are always included in the Gospel cycle. Before the Presentation we should have had the Annunciation and Nativity and, between the Communion of the Apostles and the Pentecost, at least two and possibly more of the following scenes: Betrayal, Crucifixion, Entombment, Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Harrowing of Hell, Ascension.

The artist has followed throughout the iconographic types of the 14th and 15th centuries. The Communion of the Apostles had been represented in the Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century which have a narrative cycle; beginning with the 14th century it is occasionally included by the painters of Great Armenia in the selected



group of Gospel scenes.¹ The Armenian representations usually differ from the Early Christian and Byzantine compositions in that the apostles are all grouped on one side. This is also the type adopted in our manuscript, but the painter has simplified the scene by omitting the large ciborium above the figure of Christ, and by reducing the altar to a small table covered with a cloth.²

The architectural settings, banished from the compositions themselves, have been arbitrarily placed above the frame of the miniatures, where they have a purely ornamental function. Thus the top of the ciborium flanked by two small arches is drawn above the frame of the Washing of the Feet. In the Presentation, the altar is again a small table with a cloth and the Gospel book, and two large arches indicate the interior of the temple; the top part of the ciborium, which should have stood over the altar, is drawn above the right side of the frame and a large drapery extends from these arches to a simplified construction on the left (Pl. 28).

The symbols of the Evangelists are drawn in the segment of sky, as in some earlier Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts. The eagle is figured when John is seated alone, while in the compositions where he dictates to Prochoros we usually have the Hand of God emerging from the segment of sky, but our miniaturist has also added the eagle, flying above John's head (Pl. 29).³

The figure style, the ornamental designs, as well as the palaeography, date this manuscript in the 15th century, and show definite connexions with the paintings of the 'Van school'. In a Bible written at Khlat', north of Lake Van, between the years 1418 and 1422, and illustrated by Mkrtitch Naghash (Venice, no. 280/10), we find the same short figures, sometimes cut below the knees by the lower frame of the miniature, similar facial types, and such details as the white dots around the nimb.⁴ As in our manuscript, two scenes are frequently represented on the same page, separated by a narrow band, and the Communion of the Apostles (fol. 552v.), placed in this instance above (instead of below) the Washing of the Feet, is very similar to the composition in our Gospel.

There are also definite connexions between our manuscript and those which were illustrated by the cleric Minas, between the years 1432 and 1469, in various monasteries situated in the northern and eastern regions of Lake Van.⁵ These connexions indicate the common traditions of a scriptorium, even though the personal style of Minas is somewhat different. The figures painted by Minas are more slender and elegant, the draperies often fall in narrow folds, but many of the secondary details are similar; for

¹ For instance, in two Gospels illustrated by Avag: Erivan, no. 99, A.D. 1329, and Jerusalem, no. 1941, A.D. 1334-6 (G. Hovsep'ian, 'Mkhit'ar of Ani, Scribe and Painter' [in Armenian], *Hask*, Antilias, 1948, p. 204 and fig. 9); in a Gospel illustrated by T'oros of Taron in 1321 (Jerusalem, no. 2360, fol. 247v.); in a Gospel illustrated in 1357 by Mkhit'ar of Ani (Erivan, no. 111/311).

² The Early Christian or Byzantine type in which Christ, represented twice, gives the bread and wine to the apostles standing in two separate groups, appears in a Gospel illustrated in A.D. 1223 at Mamistra, in Cilicia (Galata-Istanbul, Church of the Holy Trinity, no. 35).

³ An earlier example may be seen in a Gospel illustrated by Ignatios in 1236, New Julfa, no. 36: G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, ii, p. 63, fig. 6.

⁴ The Nativity has been reproduced in *Pazmaveb*, Venice, 1935, Sept.-Dec., fig. 33.

⁵ Paris, Arm. 18: F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pls. xvi-xix; Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455. N. Dsovaguan, 'A Precious Gift by Mr. Gulbenkian' (in Armenian), *Sion*, Jerusalem, 1950, pp. 228-33. For a list of the other manuscripts illustrated by Minas see S. Der Nersessian, 'The Painter Minas and his Illustrations' (in Armenian), *Sion*, Jerusalem, 1951, pp. 142-6.

instance, the white dots around the nimbs, the shape and design of the desks of the Evangelists, or of the cushion placed under the latter's feet. Some of the ornamental compositions are almost identical with ours.

The scribe, the priest Karapet, son of the priest Step'annos, has given very little information about himself, and I have not been able to find any other mention of the donor. A priest named Karapet, son of the priest Step'annos and Mina, worked at Van between the years 1418 and 1451, and illustrated several Gospels with full-page miniatures.¹ The present location of these manuscripts, which were all at Van and Aght'amar, is not known; we cannot therefore base our identification on a stylistic study. Another scribe named Karapet, son of the priest Step'annos and P'asha, worked at Vostan between the years 1439 and 1467.² Only partial copies of the colophons of these manuscripts have been published and I do not know if they were illustrated.

The full-page miniatures and the ornamental designs are painted in subdued colours against the white background of the paper: soft browns mingle with the reds, greens, and blues in delicate harmonies. No gold has been used, and the nimbs are simply painted yellow. Our painter is a better colourist than a draughtsman; the figures are too short, the arms and legs often too thin, and in the modelling of the draperies the hips and thighs have been over-emphasized.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1439

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-8, Full-page miniatures; foll. 8v.-9, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 9v.-13, Canon tables; fol. 15v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 16-84v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 84v.-85, Colophon; fol. 86v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 87-135v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 136, Colophon; fol. 136v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 137-224, Gospel of Luke; fol. 224v., Portrait of John; foll. 225-87v., Gospel of John; foll. 287v.-289v., Colophons.

Three vellum fly-leaves, two at the end and one at the beginning, taken from a large manuscript of the 11th century in *erkat'agir*.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18.2 × 13.5 cm.; written surface, 14 × 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 21 to 24 lines each. 289 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick cream paper. Irregular *bolorgir* of medium size in black ink. The first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, stamped with a cable design on the border and a cross at the centre. Coarse material with red and black design pasted inside the covers.

¹ Gospels dated A.D. 1418, 1421, 1437, 1451: Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 307-10, 335-46, 375-8, 409-12.

² Lectionary, A.D. 1439; *Gandzaran*, A.D. 1440;

Lectionary, A.D. 1459; two Gospels, A.D. 1461 and 1467: P'irghalemian, *Notark'*, pp. 119, 121-2, 193-5, 205, 230-1.



DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1439 at Bastay Vank' by Khatchatur *abegha* and illustrated by Mkrtitch for the elder T'adeos.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 7, under the miniature: 'The unworthy painter Mkrtitch beseeches Thee, Holy Father and God, and says: remember me, the sinner.'

Fol. 8, above the kneeling figure: 'The priest T'adeos beseeches the Theotokos.'

Foll. 84v.-85. 'I beseech from the depth of my heart, with faith and hope, have mercy on my darkened mind. Christ, my God, in Thee is all my hope, healer of souls, heal the sin-burdened soul of the *abegha* Khatchatur, Amen.'

Fol. 136. 'O, O, O, woe, woe is me, when I recall my evil deeds I am full of doubts. But I trust in thy lovingkindness, Christ, my God. Glory to Thy unbounded patience and forgiveness. . . . I have sinned, Lord, have mercy, my hope is in Thee, for ever and ever, Christ my God.'

Foll. 287v.-289. 'Glory to the indivisible and one Holy Trinity. . . . This Gospel was written under the shelter of the Holy Theotokos called Bastay Vank', by the hand of the foolish and very sinful Khatchatur *khabeqha* (false *abegha*), for I am not worthy to be called *abegha*. . . . Having prostrated myself I beseech you, fathers and brothers, who encounter this, seeing it or reading it, remember and ask the mercy of God for the owner of this holy Gospel, the meek priest T'adeos and for his parents Martiros and Merat' and all their relatives. . . . I beseech you again, be lenient for my mistakes and my ignorance . . . and say: May God have mercy on the scribe and specially on the very good T'adeos. . . . This holy Gospel was written in the year of the Armenians 888 (= A.D. 1439), by the hand of the most sinful scribe Khatchatur, for the glory of the most Holy Trinity who is blessed for ever. Amen.'

Fol. 289v. Short colophons by a different hand asking for prayers for Hohannes and his wife Mam khat'un.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Annunciation.* The angel, holding a long lance, approaches from the left; the Virgin is seated on a high throne holding the spindle. Inscriptions: 'It is the Annunciation; it is the Virgin.'

Fol. 2. *Nativity.* The Virgin and the Child, both reclining, one above the other, gaze towards a shepherd who points to three angels, above; in the foreground, on the left, three crowned Magi, holding caskets and seen only to their waist, speak to Joseph, seated on the ground. Inscriptions: 'The angels; it is the Nativity; the shepherd; the kings of the Magi; Joseph.'

Fol. 2v. *Presentation.* Simeon holding the Christ Child in his arms stands on the left; on the right are the Virgin and Joseph, carrying two doves. There is no altar; above the group is drawn a trefoil arch crowned by a tower with a conical roof, at the centre, and two domes at the sides. Inscriptions: 'The coming to the temple; Jesus Christ.'

Fol. 3. *Baptism.* John the Baptist, in a short tunic and mantle, baptizes Christ who wears a loin-cloth; the water comes to their knees. An angel stands behind John; the dove descends on Christ, and the hand of God emerges from the segment of sky in the upper right corner. Inscription: 'It is the Baptism.'

Fol. 3v. *Transfiguration.* Christ stands on sinuous lines representing the mountain; there is no mandorla around Him. At His sides, slightly lower down, are Elijah on the

left and, on the right, Moses, bearded and holding a book. The apostles have not been represented. Inscription: 'The Mount Thabor, Elijah, Moses.'

Fol. 4. *Marriage at Cana*. Inscriptions: 'He turned the water into wine; the wedding; the bridegroom.' Pl. 33b.

Fol. 4v. *Healing of the Paralytic and Raising of Lazarus*. Inscriptions: 'The paralytic; the raising of Lazarus.' Pl. 33a.

Fol. 5. *Entry into Jerusalem*. Christ is followed by a nimbed, bearded man and greeted by a nimbed young man; in the foreground two boys spread their garments. Inscription: 'It is Palm Sunday.'

Fol. 5v. (a) *Betrayal*. Judas coming from the right embraces Christ; behind Judas are two helmeted soldiers carrying axes. Inscriptions: 'Jesus-Christ; Judas.'

(b) *Pilate washing his Hands*. A soldier pours water over the hands of Pilate, who is seated on the right. Inscription: 'Pilate.'

Fol. 6. *Pentecost*. Seven apostles, divided into two groups, are seated under an arch; the dove flies down from the centre of the arch, but there are no rays or tongues of fire. In the foreground is a high wall with five arched openings. Inscription: 'The apostles in the holy upper chamber.' The margins of this folio have been entirely cut off.

Fol. 6v. *Ascension*. Christ is seated (without any indication of a throne or a mandorla) between two half-figures of angels flying towards Him; below, two apostles on the left, the Virgin and another apostle, on the right, stand at the sides of a small arched door. Inscription: 'It is the Ascension.'

Fol. 7. *Christ enthroned*. Christ is seated on the four apocalyptic beasts; the foreground is covered with intersecting lines forming lozenges. Christ's face is partly rubbed off. Inscriptions: 'It is the tetramorphic throne. The unworthy painter Mkrtitch beseeches Thee, Holy Father and God, and says: Remember me, the sinner.'

Fol. 7v. *Scene in paradise*. Christ speaks to the apostles grouped in a semicircle, on the right side of a large arch; on the left are two archangels. Inscriptions: 'Jesus Christ; the Apostles, Gabriel, Michael.'

Fol. 8. *Virgin and donors*. The donor and his son, facing him, kneel before the Virgin seated, in profile, on a plain yellow throne on the right. The donor wears a blue tunic with a red belt, and a brown mantle with a fringe, clasped in front with a red brooch. The son wears a blue tunic with black dots under which can be seen the sleeves and the hem of a red undergarment. Inscriptions: 'T'adeos implores the Theotokos; this is the son.'

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew, Luke, and John (foll. 15v., 136v., 224v.) are seated on a bench and write on a sheet of paper, strapped to a board which is attached, by a cord, to the arch painted above them. In the portrait of Mark (fol. 86v.) the board hangs by a shorter cord and does not rest on his knees. The name of each Evangelist is written against the plain background and there is an additional inscription: 'Lord, Jesus, Christ God, Thou art blessed by everyone for ever and ever, Amen.'

The Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables (foll. 8v.-13) are written under fairly narrow rectangles, supported by columns with human or animal heads, and decorated with large palmette motifs drawn against a red background. The *headpieces* (foll. 16, 87, 137, 225) also have a dark red background and are decorated with the usual floral arabesques, and, in one instance (fol. 16), with sirens among the foliage.

The marginal ornaments of the pericopes are usually floral designs or sirens, and

only occasionally a temple, a tree, or a cross are represented to illustrate the appropriate passages (foll. 67v., 201, 278).

REMARKS. The miniatures are painted in bright colours against the plain background of the paper; green, blue, and red predominate. The figures have short heavy proportions, large heads, and they usually fill the entire space; the features are drawn with dark lines and there is no modelling on the faces; the draperies are highly stylized, dark brush-strokes indicate the folds.

Fol. 6 had at one time been detached; its margins are trimmed off, and the leaf has been reversed at the time of binding, so that the Descent of the Holy Ghost now precedes the Ascension. Some folios seem to be missing, for we do not have the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, and the Harrowing of Hell, which almost always form part of the Gospel cycle.

Bastay Vank' or the monastery of Bast, where the manuscript was copied, is in the canton of Aghdznik', south of Lake Van, and the illuminator follows the traditions of Khizan. The characteristic iconography of this school appears in several representations: the Marriage at Cana is separated into two registers and the bridegroom and wedding guests are seated below (Pl. 33b); the Paralytic, seen in bust, is lowered in a net held by two men lying above the frame (here only their hands are represented); in the Raising of Lazarus, one of the sisters sits next to the sarcophagus (Pl. 33a); the group of Christ, the apostles, and the archangels appears in Paradise; the Evangelists write on a sheet of paper attached to a board which hangs down by means of a cord.¹ The painters of this school also simplify the compositions, as does our painter, though they seldom omit such important persons as the apostles in the Transfiguration.

The short round figures with broad round faces, a line extending the eyes and eyebrows, and a lock of hair curling above the shoulder, recall the paintings of the Khizan manuscripts of the 14th century, such as Paris, Arm. 333, or those of the early 15th century, for instance, two Gospels illustrated at Khizan in 1402 and 1404,² a Gospel written in 1435 in the canton of Mok's, immediately east of the canton of Aghdznik'.³ The connexions with Muslim paintings of Mongolian style have been discussed in the Introduction.⁴

The cycle of the Second Coming of Christ is reduced to two scenes: Christ seated on the tetramorphs (fol. 7); Christ and the apostles in Paradise (fol. 7v). The first of these two scenes appears in several manuscripts of Khizan: in two Gospels written in 1402 and 1417⁵ in Codex no. 566 of this Collection and in a Gospel written in 1460 or shortly before.⁶ Christ enthroned on the cherubim had already been represented by

¹ See Codex no. 563 (Pl. 27a) and the examples listed above on p. 40, note 1.

² Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 1090, written by Hohannes; cf. E. Nykolskaia, op. cit., in *Mystetstvoznavstvo-Zbirnyk*, i, Kharkov, 1928-9, pls. XLVIII-L; and Etchmiadzin, no. 1006, without date, *ibid.*, pl. XLVII.

³ New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 10. The manuscript was written by the scribe Margaré. Two different painters have worked together for the illustrations: the portraits of the Evangelists, the Nativity, and the Presentation, painted in bright colours against a coloured background, are the work of a more skilled

artist; the remaining scenes of the life of Christ, painted against a plain background, are extremely close to the miniatures of our manuscript. Cf. G. Hovsep'ian, 'A Page from the Artistic History of Khizan', figs. 1-2.

⁴ See pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁵ Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 754: Nykolskaia, op. cit., pp. 39 and 42. In both examples the owner of the manuscript is represented kneeling in the foreground.

⁶ Aleppo, no. 44. The sentence giving the date on p. 598 is in a different writing from the rest of the

the deacon T'oros (Frontispiece), but the miniatures of the Khizan manuscripts, which do not include the Virgin and John the Baptist, should be connected with other examples of the 14th century. In a Gospel dated A.D. 1304 (Oxford, Bodleian, Arm. d. 3),¹ Christ is seated on a throne from the four sides of which project the four animals; He holds in His hand an open book with the words: 'I am the light of the world, whoever comes to me shall not remain. . . .' The order of the full-page miniatures of this manuscript has been disturbed, but we can be sure that the enthroned Christ came at the end of the Gospel cycle, for the Letter of Eusebius is written on the verso of this folio (foll. 13 and 13v.). A similar example may be seen in the Gospel illustrated in 1307 at Gladzor by T'oros of Taron; the full-page miniature again comes at the end of the Gospel cycle, and facing it is the image of the enthroned Virgin with Child.²

The second composition, Christ and the apostles in Paradise, is a simplified version of the type of representation already used in two manuscripts dated 1414 and 1434 (Jerusalem, nos. 2663 and 2784), and of which we have a later example in Codex no. 574 (Pl. 48a); there is no allusion here to the resurrection of the dead or to the torments of the sinners, only the elect are figured together with the archangels Michael and Gabriel.³

The iconographic variant of the Raising of Lazarus, with one of the sisters seated next to the sarcophagus, in which can be seen the shrouds entirely covering the body of Lazarus (Pl. 33a), had already been represented in the 14th century by a painter of Khizan (Paris, Arm. 333). The artists of the Christian East or of western Europe occasionally replace the rock-cut sepulchre by a sarcophagus, but Lazarus is always seen rising from the tomb, while in our example the actual miracle is not suggested.⁴ Other painters of Khizan represent Lazarus lying on a stone slab, placed diagonally.⁵

In Armenian manuscripts the donors usually stand before Christ, or they kneel at the foot of the cross with the bust figure of Christ; occasionally they appear before the enthroned figure of the Virgin and Child.⁶ The composition in this manuscript differs from the other examples in that the Virgin sits alone, without the Christ Child. The donor and his son wear the contemporary costume, similar to the Mongolian dress. The same costume is worn by the Magi in the Nativity, and by the bridegroom and guests in the Marriage at Cana (Pl. 33b).

All the compositions are greatly simplified: the three apostles are omitted in the Transfiguration; only two soldiers accompany Judas in the Betrayal; in the Pentecost scene there are only seven apostles, and in the Ascension three apostles and the Virgin.

colophon and may have been inserted later. There is no reason for assigning this manuscript to Marash or Zeitun (Surméyan, *Catalogue*, p. 89), the style of the miniatures is typical of Khizan.

¹ A. Baumstark, 'Der Bilderschmuck eines armenischen Evangelienbuches vom Jahre 1305', *Oriens Christianus*, xxxv. 2 (1939), 214-24. In the catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of Oxford (Baronian and Conybeare, pp. 2-4) the place of origin is given as 'probably in Cilicia, since he (the scribe) mentions the reign of Hethoum (II) and the patriarchate of Gregory (VII)'. But this is not a sufficient reason, for in almost all the manuscripts written before the destruction of the kingdom of Cilicia the names of the king and the catholicos are recalled.

² Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1917: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pl. LIV, and pp. 131-3 for other examples.

³ See Introduction, p. xxxv, for other examples.

⁴ G. Millet, *Iconographie*, figs. 227, 229, 230. In an Armenian Gospel, formerly in the Baroyrian Collection, illustrated in 1306 by the scribe Sargis of Siunik, Lazarus sits up in his tomb and the stone slab is carried away by his sisters.

⁵ Codex no. 566. See pp. 52, 55.

⁶ For instance, Venice, no. 887, Gospel, A.D. 1007 (Weitzmann, *Armenische Buchmalerei*, pl. x, figs. 34-35); Venice, no. 1108, illustrated in 1318 by T'oros of Taron (Alishan, *Sisakan*, pl. opp. p. 134); Jerusalem, no. 2784, A.D. 1434, p. 44.

In this last scene the painter has even suppressed the mandorla around Christ, as he has also eliminated it in the Transfiguration. This extreme simplification occasionally results in misrepresentations. The youthful nimbed figure who greets Jesus in the Entry into Jerusalem is the same person as the apostle who accompanied Christ in the preceding composition, and he should be standing behind Christ, while the bearded man who follows Christ is probably one of the Jews and should be facing Him.

A painter named Mkrtitch worked at the village of Harhots, in the district of Khizan, in 1450, but the miniatures of this manuscript, Berlin, Or. Minut. 291, which will be discussed in connexion with Codex no. 566, are painted in an entirely different style. A scribe also named Mkrtitch was at Khizan in 1456, but no information is available about the illustrations of his manuscripts.¹

566

FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1451

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-12, Full-page miniatures; foll. 12v.-13, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 13v.-17, Canon tables; foll. 17v.-20v., Headings, concordance, and preface of the Gospel of Matthew; foll. 21-108, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 108v.-109v., Headings of the Gospel of Mark and colophon; fol. 110v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 111-64v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 165-6, Headings of the Gospel of Luke and colophon; fol. 166v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 167-255, Gospel of Luke; foll. 255v.-256, Preface and Headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 256v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 257-321, Gospel of John; foll. 321v.-323v., Colophon.

Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from a Lectionary or Menologium written in small angular *erkat'agir* of the 12th century.

Lacunae. One folio between foll. 20 and 21 with the portrait of Matthew has been cut off; only a narrow strip of the painting remains.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 26.5 × 18 cm.; written surface, 19.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 323 folios. The side and lower margins of the leaves at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript are partly torn off.

PAPER AND WRITING. Strong, buff-coloured, polished paper. *Bolorgir* in brown ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the next two lines and the initials of the verses are in red capitals.

BINDING. Vellum over boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1451 at the monastery of Gamaghiel at Khizan by Hohannes *vardapet* for the cleric T'uma and Karapet.

¹ Excerpts from colophons from two Gospels are given by P'irghalemian, *Notark'*, pp. 183-4. A priest Mkrtitch is mentioned by his pupil Hohannes in

a Gospel illustrated at Khizan in 1474: Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 467-70.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 10, next to the portrait of the painter. 'O most holy Theotokos, do not forget the most sinful illuminator on the day of Judgement of thine only-begotten, for I trust in thy mercy.'

Fol. 109v., in a later hand. 'Remember in Christ Hunan, Kaso and Tjano and their mother Aslmelik', and with full mouth say: God have mercy on them.' The same colophon is repeated on fol. 166.

Foll. 321v.-323v. 'Glory to the Holy Trinity.... Having seen the ineffable, miraculous power of this ... T'uma, the cleric, and Karapet, who for a long time desired this holy Gospel of divine word ..., had it written as a memorial of their souls and of that of their parents. ... For this holy Gospel was written by the hand of the very sinful Hohannes, a *vardapet* by name and not by my deeds, in the monastery called Gamaghiel at the church of the holy Apostle Gamaghiel, when the superior of this monastery was Hohannes *vardapet* and the other Hohannes *vardapet*, father of the abbot Hohannes, and all the other brothers of the congregation. And I, being unskilled in the art of writing and burdened with many sins, but, according to our ability which the Holy Ghost, who loveth man, had bestowed upon us, having laboured much at this, I wrote it with my unworthy hands, from a good and correct model ... in the year six thousand six hundred and fifty ... (the last word is illegible) since Adam's expulsion from Eden ... and in the year 1453 since the incarnation of the word of God, the Being without time, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and in the year 900 (= A.D. 1451), of the Japhetic, Khosrovian era,¹ when the catholicos of the Armenian nation at Etchmiadzin was Ter Grigor and the catholicos of Aght'amar was Ter Zak'aria, and may the Lord God keep him unshaken on his patriarchal and royal see.... And this Gospel was written in the province of Hizan, under the shelter of the holy apostle Gamaghiel, for the enjoyment of the holy cleric T'uma, and of the worthy and faithful *tanuter* Karapet, and of his wife Mesr Melek', and of their parents.... Remember in your prayers the owners of this holy Gospel, Karapet ... and T'uma the cleric.... But I beseech you, who encounter this holy Gospel, be lenient for the largeness (of the script) and the mistakes, for I was ailing in body, and the light of my eyes was failing.... And in the goodness of your hearts and your lips remember in Christ-God the unworthy scribe Hohannes, who beseeches you, and my parents Vardan and Dilshat, and my deceased brother, the tender Hohannes, and Kherapet, and say "God have mercy upon them", and whoever says this, may Christ have mercy upon him. Amen.'

On fol. 2 the same seal is stamped three times 'servant of Jesus Christ, Nerses *vardapet*', the rest is illegible. Fol. 20v., another seal bearing the date 1217 (= A.D. 1768).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *The Tree of Jesse.* Jesse, wearing a tight-fitting bodice and short trousers, lies prone on the ground; from his waist rises a tree, ending with two large palm leaves which frame the Virgin, enthroned, with the Child on her knees. At the sides of the tree twenty medallions, separated by three-lobed leaves drawn in the shape of a cross, enclose the bust figures of nimbed men and women holding scrolls. Four other such medallions with figures are drawn at the angles

¹ The three dates concord in spite of the apparent discrepancies. The year 6651 since the expulsion of Adam corresponds to A.D. 1451 according to the Armenian calculations; the year of Christ should be read 1451, for according to Samuel of Ani, there is

always a difference of two years between the era of the Nativity and the Christian era (E. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne*, Paris, 1859, p. 39, p. 56).

of the frame; the one on the upper left is partly destroyed, the one on the lower left is almost completely erased.

Fol. 2. *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Abraham wearing a tight-fitting bodice and wide trousers kneels on the ground in front of a small altar, a knife in his right hand, the left stretched towards Isaac, lying on his back at his feet; Abraham turns his head towards the angel flying down towards him and pointing to a ram which hangs by its horns from the lower branch of a tree. The outer and lower margins are frayed and part of the figure of Isaac is torn off. Bright orange background.

Fol. 3. *Annunciation*. The angel, holding a long staff, and wearing high leather boots, advances towards the Virgin, who stands on a low wall on which is placed a water-jug. The background is of different colours: pale yellow to the left of a diagonal line, green with red dots to the right, and orange-red in the lower half of the page. An irregular section in the centre is filled with wavy lines imitating birds' heads.

Fol. 3v. *Nativity*. Pl. 34a.

Fol. 4. *Baptism*. Pl. 34b.

Fol. 4v. *Marriage at Cana*. In the upper part, Christ, seated in the centre, blesses a chalice presented by an old man kneeling before Him; behind Christ is a young apostle, also kneeling. A narrow band, with six vases, separates this scene from the lower part in which the bridegroom, crowned and holding a sword, is seated full-face on the right, while two wedding-guests kneel on the left; one of them, wearing a pointed bonnet, holds a bottle, the other, wearing a large turban, raises the cup to his lips. Background in different colours; sinuous lines are drawn behind the bridegroom.

Fol. 5. *Transfiguration*. Christ stands in an oblong frame figuring the mandorla; at His sides, under arched frames, are Elijah on the left, and on the right Moses holding the two tables of the law. Moses wears a tight-fitting tunic, trousers, and leather boots; Elijah also wears leather boots. Below are the three apostles before a rocky background; Peter and John, kneeling at the sides, point to Christ, James, in the middle, falls on his face.

Fol. 5v. (a) *Entry into Jerusalem*. Christ, seated on the ass, and followed by one apostle, is greeted by an old man standing next to a tree; a garment is spread under the ass's feet. The background is decorated with groups of three dots.

(b) *Washing of the Feet*. Christ, kneeling, washes the feet of Peter seated in an arm-chair; another apostle is kneeling on the right, his hand raised to his lips.

Fol. 6. (a) *Healing of the Paralytic*. Christ, seated in an arm-chair, lays His hand on the head of the paralytic, who is lowered in a sheet held by two men lying prone on the upper frame of the miniature; two apostles are represented kneeling, one on the left, the other on the right.

(b) *Raising of Lazarus*. Christ stands with raised hand; one of the sisters is prone on the ground, the other, kneeling, raises both hands and looks towards the shrouded figure of Lazarus lying on a slanting slab. The background is partly filled with sinuous lines imitating birds' heads.

Fol. 6v. (a) *Betrayal*. Judas, approaching from the right, embraces Christ; four soldiers, wearing short tunics, pointed bonnets, high boots, and carrying torches and axes, stand at the sides.

(b) *Denial of Peter*. The left part of the composition, with Peter cutting off the ear

of Malchus, belongs to the scene of the Betrayal. Farther to the right Peter is seated cross-legged on the ground, next to the fire, his hands raised in a gesture of denial, his head slightly turned towards the servant woman, who points to him with both hands.

Fol. 7. (a) *Pilate washing his Hands*. Pilate, wearing a tight-fitting bodice, wide trousers, and a large turban, is seated on the left; a servant pours water on his hands. To the right stands Christ, His hands crossed and tied with a circular thong.

(b) *Judas returns the Thirty Pieces of Silver*. On the right Judas, wearing wide trousers and high boots, presents to the high priest and to another man the thirty pieces of silver which are drawn side by side in the shape of a hoop; the high priest tears his tunic.

Fol. 7v. (a) *Crucifixion* and (b) *Mourning over Christ's Body*. Pl. 35a.

Fol. 8. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. Pl. 35b.

Fol. 8v. *Harrowing of Hell*. Pl. 36a.

Fol. 9. *Ascension*. Pl. 36b.

Fol. 9v. *Descent of the Holy Ghost and Donors*. Pl. 37a. Inscriptions above the kneeling figures: on the left 'This is Karapet' and on the right 'This is Ter T'uma abegha'.

Fol. 10. *Virgin and Child and Scribe*. Pl. 37b. Inscription: see Colophons.

Fol. 10v. *Dives and Lazarus*. Abraham, seated on the ground with Lazarus on his knees, stretches his hand towards an angel who stands opposite him. In the lower half of the page the rich man lies in a large platter placed on a fire, and points with both hands to Abraham; a serpent is coiled around his body and a thin dog blows on the flames. The background of the lower half of the page is entirely black.

Fol. 11. *Sinners in Hell*. Red and yellow wavy lines and bands fill the greater part of the upper half of the page; the remaining parts are black. Three nude men, with serpents coiled around them, stand in the lower half of the page; three similar figures are represented, head down, in the upper half of the page.

Fol. 12. *Christ enthroned*. The bust of Christ rests on the four apocalyptic beasts represented in such a way that there seem to be two bodies, each with two heads.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Mark (fol. 110v.) and Luke (fol. 166v.), seated in a wooden arm-chair before a table, write on a large sheet of paper. The mantle and tunic of the Evangelists are draped in such a manner that they appear to be wearing wide trousers; they are barefoot. John (fol. 256v.), leaning on a staff, looks at the Hand of God emerging from the segment of sky, and he dictates to Prochoros, seated on a low stool. The backgrounds, in two different colours, are covered with small disks and yellow dots.

The narrow rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* are filled with all-over floral designs, carelessly drawn, or with an arch and floral scrolls. The capitals of the columns are human or animal-headed. The headpiece of Matthew (fol. 21) consists of a large rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it; in the centre of the rectangle is drawn a roundel, with the Virgin holding the child; above are two beardless figures, seen to the waist, each one holding a rhipidion. The headpieces of Mark and Luke (foll. 111 and 167) have the same general design, but a floral ornament is drawn in the roundel, and birds stand above the rectangle. The headpiece of John (fol. 257) is Π -shaped with floral motifs interlaced to form a geometric pattern.

Large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes are drawn on the first page of each Gospel; the marginal ornaments of the pericopes have simpler floral designs in

white, touched with reddish-brown, occasionally drawn against a blue background. The floral motifs are often replaced by lions or other quadrupeds, by birds, crowned sirens, some of them eating large fruits, or by other motifs connected with the text, such as trees (foll. 79^v., 145, 235; Mt. xxi. 18; Mk. xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 88^v., 150^v., 240; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); crosses (foll. 101^v., 159^v., 247; Mt. xvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66). On fol. 100^v. Christ(?), wearing wide trousers, walks to the right (Mt. xxvi. 57); on fol. 130 a crowned man, wearing trousers and boots, raises both hands (Mk. vii. 1); on fol. 143^v. the blind man, wearing long trousers, walks to the left, his tall pointed cap lies on the ground (Mk. x. 46); fol. 173, a shepherd (Lk. ii. 8); fol. 267, a bird with the cross nimbus (Jn. iv. 24).

REMARKS. The Canon tables, headpieces, marginal ornaments, and perhaps Christ enthroned (fol. 12) are the work of a less skilled artist than the one who executed the full-page miniatures and portraits of the Evangelists. Only blue and brown, with occasional touches of green, have been used for the ornaments, while the figure compositions are painted in bright colours: red, green, and blue predominate; purple, yellow, lilac, and a bluish-grey are also used. The backgrounds are often in several colours: orange, yellow, green, blue, and purple. There is no gold, the nimbs are painted yellow. The costumes are often of two different colours; for instance, green on one side and red on the other, even when the figures wear a simple tunic; darker lines indicate the folds of the draperies, and there is little shading.

Hohannes, son of Vardan and Dilshat, who copied our manuscript, was one of the prominent scribes of the monastery of St. Gamaghiel or Gamaliel at Khizan, and the illustrations of two of the Gospels written by him, Jerusalem, no. 2784 (A.D. 1434) and Walters Art Gallery, no. 543 (A.D. 1455), are extremely close to those of our manuscript, in style, iconography, and the peculiar costumes worn by Christ, the apostles, and other figures. These two manuscripts were illustrated by Khatchatur; the miniaturist of our Gospel, who has painted his portrait kneeling before the Virgin, does not mention his name in the accompanying inscription or in the colophon, and since the same scribe wrote all three manuscripts one might have thought that they were also illustrated by the same painter. However, in spite of marked similarities between these three Gospels there are also significant differences in the style of the paintings. The tall, slim figures painted by Khatchatur in the Gospel of 1455 move with greater freedom than those of our manuscript; the faces are modelled with highlights around the eyes and on the brows, and the deep shadows and highlights in the folds of the draperies make them appear like a succession of rolls. Khatchatur is also more interested in creating intricate designs through the attitudes of the individual figures, and he fills the backgrounds with rich floral scrolls, quite different from the simpler designs occasionally used in our manuscript.

There was, however, another artist in this area who followed the same artistic and iconographic traditions, and whose style is much closer to that of the illustrator of our manuscript. This is the painter Mkrtitch who in 1450 illustrated a Gospel at the village called Harhots, in one of the cantons of the province of Khizan (Berlin, Or. Minut. 291). There are fewer miniatures in this Gospel, but all the scenes which have been represented are also to be found in our manuscript, and the compositions, except

for minor details, are identical.¹ The figure style is also very close to that of our manuscript: we have the same facial types, the same figures usually standing in quiet poses, the same treatment of the drapery, and there can be no hesitation in recognizing the hand of the same painter in both series of miniatures.

The figure style, the characteristic elements of the cycle, the peculiar costume worn by Christ and some of the other figures, the iconography of the Baptism and of the Marriage at Cana have been discussed in the Introduction.² A number of other compositions of this interesting manuscript also deserve special consideration.

The representation of the Tree of Jesse (fol. 1v.), which fills the entire page, repeats the scheme adopted by the artists of the Van school, except that all the ancestors are figured in medallions and none are standing at the sides of the tree.³ Having filled the upper and lower roundels with floral motifs, the miniaturist has been obliged to add four others, with figures, at the angles of the frame.

The Annunciation (fol. 3) is based on the apocryphal story of the angel appearing to the Virgin at the well, though this is merely suggested by the water-jug placed on the low wall next to Mary. The Annunciation at the well had already been represented in Great Armenia. In a Gospel illustrated in A.D. 1330 Mary holds the water-jug, and the well, figured as a large vase, is drawn under an arch in the foreground.⁴

In the Raising of Lazarus, Lazarus lies, with wide-open eyes, on a stone slab placed diagonally in the field (fol. 6). The same composition is repeated in the Walters Gospel, no. 543, but in the Berlin Gospel Or. Minut. 291 one of the sisters embraces Lazarus. This detail helps us to connect this iconographic variant with a much earlier example from Great Armenia, the Gospel illustrated by Ignatios in 1236, where one of the sisters, kneeling on the ground, clasps against her the small, shrouded figure of Lazarus.⁵

As in other manuscripts of Khizan, the group of Peter cutting the ear of Malchus is separated from the Betrayal and placed in the lower register, next to Peter's denial (fol. 6v.);⁶ the thirty pieces of silver returned by Judas to the high priest are small, round and hollow coins, arranged in a circle so that Judas seems to be pushing a hoop before him (fol. 7).⁷

¹ The following scenes are represented: fol. 1, Tree of Jesse; fol. 2, Annunciation with the inscription 'Remember the unworthy Mkrtitch, the illuminator and binder'; fol. 2v., Nativity; fol. 3, Baptism; fol. 3v., Marriage at Cana; fol. 4, Transfiguration; fol. 4v., Entry into Jerusalem and Washing of the Feet; fol. 5, Healing of the Paralytic and Raising of Lazarus; fol. 5v., Betrayal and Denial of Peter; fol. 6, Pilate washing his Hands and Judas returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver; fol. 6v., Crucifixion and Mourning over the Body of Christ; fol. 7, Holy Women at the Sepulchre; fol. 7v., Ascension; fol. 8, Pentecost; foll. 15v., 94v., 152v., 249v., portraits of the Evangelists. The miniature of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre is reproduced in a coloured drawing in N. Karamianz, *Verzeichnis der armenischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1888, pl. iv, 2. I owe the photographs of this manuscript to the courtesy of Professor A. Boeckler.

² Pages xxxv-xxxviii.

³ For examples of the Van school see: Venice, San

Lazzaro, no. 280/10, Bible illustrated in 1418-22 by Mkrtitch Naghash (*Keghouni*, 1947, p. 22); Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455, illustrated by Minas (N. Dsovaguan, op. cit., in *Sion*, Jerusalem, 1950, pp. 228-33, fig. 1); Boston Public Library, no. 1327, Gospel of A.D. 1475 (S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, p. 7). The composition of our manuscript may be seen in other manuscripts of Khizan: Jerusalem, no. 2784; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543.

⁴ New Julfa, no. 47: H. Kurdian, 'The Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz' (in Armenian), *Hask*, ii (1949-50), p. 116, fig. 1. The composition of Berlin, Or. Minut. 291 is identical with that of our manuscript.

⁵ New Julfa, no. 36: G. Hovsep'ian, *Materials and Studies*, i, 60, fig. 2; H. Kurdian, 'The Miniaturist Ignatios', *Anahit*, 1939, p. 38, fig. 18.

⁶ Paris, Arm. 333; Jerusalem, no. 2784; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543; Jerusalem, no. 2663, A.D. 1414.

⁷ Similar examples in Paris, Arm. 333; New York,

The composition of the Crucifixion (Pl. 35a) with three crosses, the lance-bearer and the sponge-bearer, but without the Virgin and St. John, is also typical of this school, and differs from the usual Armenian type.¹ Apart from the Khizan manuscripts, the only comparable example known to me occurs in a Gospel of the year 1038 where, however, the Virgin and the holy women, St. John, and Nicodemus have also been represented.²

In the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre (Pl. 35b), contrary to the Gospel text and the long-established usage in Christian art, Christ stands next to the angel and addresses the three Marys. In this composition, typical of the Khizan school,³ two succeeding events have been combined, and an even earlier one is suggested by the curtain of the temple, rent in two, drawn above the women.

This conflation of two episodes occurs earlier still in a Greek manuscript, Florence, Conv. soppr. 160, though the disposition of the figures suggests a slight separation between the scenes: the angel and the sleeping soldiers are in the foreground; Christ, speaking to the holy women, stands behind a mound.⁴ In two Syriac manuscripts of the 13th century, Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene and the visit to the sepulchre are crowded into one miniature and only the positions of the central figures, turned in opposite directions, separate the two scenes from one another.⁵ A similar composition may be seen in an Armenian Gospel written in 1306 in the province of Siunik'; here the final resurrection of the dead is also suggested, for a second angel, blowing a trumpet, sits behind the empty sepulchre.⁶ But the earliest example of all occurs in a Gospel illustrated in Great Armenia in A.D. 1038 (Erivan, no. 6201): two angels are seated on a sarcophagus in front of which lie four sleeping soldiers; two holy women and three smaller figures stand on the right, and farther to the right is the large figure of Christ, standing, full-face.

The scribe has represented his own portrait kneeling before the enthroned Virgin and Child, while the two owners of the manuscript kneel in the foreground of the Pentecost scene (Pl. 37). This method of introducing the donors or the scribe into a Gospel scene was of common usage in Armenia, especially from the 14th century on. We saw an example in Codex no. 559, where the deacon T'oros appears as one of the persons present at the Dormition of the Virgin; more often, however, the donors kneel in the humble attitude of prayer, as they do in the present example.⁷

The headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 21) is decorated with the figures of

Kevorkian Coll., no. 10; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291.

¹ Paris, Arm. 333; Etchmiadzin, no. 754 (Nykolskaia, op. cit., p. 42); Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543.

² Etchmiadzin, no. 6201: G. Hovsep'ian, *The Saviour of Havuts T'ar*, p. 46, fig. 22; G. Millet, *Iconographie*, pp. 423-34.

³ Paris, arm. 333; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Jerusalem, no. 2784; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543; Jerusalem, no. 2663; Aleppo, no. 44 (103).

⁴ Millet, *Iconographie*, fig. 582

⁵ Vatican, Syr. 559 and Brit. Mus. Add. 7170. G. de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Vatican City, 1940, pl. xx and p. 106, fig. 51.

⁶ Gospel written by the scribe Sargis, formerly in the Collection of Mr. Baroyrian in New York. I owe the photograph of this miniature to the kindness of Mr. Hazarian; the present location of the manuscript is not known.

⁷ For instance in a Gospel illustrated in 1346 by Sargis Pidsak (Jerusalem, no. 1973), Queen Mariun kneeling, in the Descent from the Cross, is separated by a band from the actual scene. In a Bible illustrated by Avag in 1358 (Etchmiadzin, no. 6230) the donor and his wife kneel in the foreground of the Nativity (G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, ii, fig. 228). In the Kevorkian Gospel no. 10, illustrated in 1435 by Mkrtitch, and in the Walters Gospel, no. 543, illustrated by Khatchatur in 1455, the donor or the scribe kneels under the Pentecost scene.

the Virgin and Child and two angels standing above the frame. This composition, also used in other manuscripts of Khizan,¹ is based on the type favoured by the artists of Great Armenia in the 14th century.²

In keeping with the general practice of the Khizan school the compositions are greatly simplified and the elimination of some of the secondary figures sometimes modifies the usual iconography. Thus only one apostle and one Jew are figured in the Entry into Jerusalem; only one apostle sits next to Peter in the Washing of the Feet, and only two apostles and the Virgin are present at the Ascension (Pl. 36b).

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FOUR GOSPELS

15TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-11, Full-page miniatures; foll. 12v.-13, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 13v.-17, Canon tables; foll. 19-21, Preface, headings, and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 21v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 22-107v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 108-9v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 110v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 111-66, Gospel of Mark; foll. 166v.-169, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 169v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 170-262v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 263-4v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 265v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 266-334v., Gospel of John; foll. 335-8, Colophons. Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from a large Gospel in *erkat'agir* of the 10th century.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 27 × 18.5 cm.; written surface, 18.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 338 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick, glazed paper. Large *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters, the second and third lines of each Gospel are in red *erkat'agir*. Foll. 337 and 338 are in a different paper.

BINDING. Dark brown leather with flap; three straps with metal clips. Blind-tooled border and central panel on end cover. The front cover which was also blind-tooled with a large cross is now studded with round-headed nails; in the centre is a silver cross set with five cornelians; at the corners there are four square silver plates with embossed symbols of the Evangelists. Inscription on the cross with the names of the donors, partly illegible. (Pl. 63a.)

¹ For instance in Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 1090 (Nykolskaia, op. cit., pp. 40 and 41); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543; Jerusalem, nos. 2663 and 2784.

² For instance: Hartford, arm. 3, Gospel of A.D. 1307-31, illustrated by T'oros of Taron (S. Der Nersessian, *Western Iconographic Themes*, figs. 4-5); New Julfa, no. 47, Gospel of A.D. 1330 (H. Kurdian, 'The

Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz', *Hask*, Antilias, ii [1949-50], p. 128, fig. 17); Brit. Mus. Or. 5304, illustrated in the 14th century by Avag. A later example in Etchmiadzin, no. 2634/377, Gospel of A.D. 1475, illustrated by the scribe Abraham in the Vayots dzor (G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, i, fig. 102).

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 15th century. Illustrated by Parsam for *mahtesi* Vardan.

COLOPHONS. The name of the painter is written on the lower frame of the miniatures on foll. 6v. and 10v. 'Remember the painter Parsam when Thou comest to paradise'; 'Remember in Christ, Parsam, the painter, and my parents.'

Foll. 335-6. The colophon begins with the usual doxology and is followed by a long explanation of the symbolism of the number four.

Foll. 336-336v. '... and so ... the God-loving and meek priest, the pilgrim (*mahtesi*) Ter Vardan, and his wife Ulukhat'un desired this holy Gospel containing the word of God, and they had it written with their rightful and honest earnings, in memory of their souls and of the parents of Ter Vardan, Khus Khatchatur and Sultan Melik', ... A long list of relatives follows.

Foll. 337-8. The colophon, on different paper and by a later hand, begins with the enumeration of the relatives of the second owner. The date is given at the end. 'And now, we the true brothers Murat bashé and Ezdan bashé, we received this holy Gospel from our rightful and honest earnings, as a goodly memorial of our souls, and of our parents, and of our relatives, and of all our children. Because of this we beseech you to say "God have mercy" on us and on all our ancestors and our dead, and may God have mercy on you and on us at His coming, Amen. In the year 1136 (= A.D. 1687).'

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Annunciation*. The Angel and the Virgin stand under trefoil arches; a ray descends from the arch on the left towards the Virgin.

Fol. 2. *Nativity*. Pl. 39b.

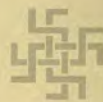
Fol. 3v. *Presentation of Christ*. Mary and Joseph, carrying the doves, Simeon, holding the infant Jesus, and the prophetess Anna, holding an open scroll, stand at the sides of an altar with a chalice on it. Four arches, with three domed buildings above them, are drawn in the upper part of the miniature.

Fol. 4. *Baptism*. John baptizes Christ; the water rises in a cone almost to the top of the frame and seems to be flowing from the wings of the dove; above, the Hand of God. An angel stands on the right; half-figures of angels come out of segments of sky in the upper corners.

Fol. 4v. *Transfiguration*. Christ stands in a narrow, oval mandorla; Elijah and Moses, beardless and holding a book, are in rectangular frames, each one on a separate mountain. In the foreground are Peter, seated, James and John kneeling.

Fol. 5. *Raising of Lazarus*. Christ and the apostles approach from the left; Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet. A scalloped, diagonal line separates this group from the tomb, with Lazarus standing in the opening; one young man unwinds the shroud, another carries away the slab of stone. The heads of two men are seen above the tomb; one of them stretches his hand which passes under the architrave. The foreground is covered with floral motifs in squares.

Fol. 5v. *Entry into Jerusalem*. Christ, followed by all the disciples, is greeted by two old men standing before the city gate; a young boy spreads his garment under the ass's feet.



Fol. 6. *Washing of the Feet*. Christ wipes the foot of Peter, who points to his head. Four apostles are seated next to Peter, seven others stand in two rows behind them.

Fol. 6v. *Crucifixion*. Pl. 38a. Inscription: see Colophons.

Fol. 7. *Harrowing of Hell*. Pl. 38b.

Fol. 7v. *Entombment*. Two men, facing one another, carry the body of Christ placed on a rectangular slab; next to them are two women, partly cut off by the frame. Behind Christ, in the centre of the composition, rises a large ornamental cross flanked by two candles. Weeping angels are represented in the upper corners as in the Crucifixion.

Fol. 8. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. The three Marys advance from the left towards the angel who, seated on a rectangular, ornate slab points to the empty sepulchre and the shroud of Christ. The four soldiers, seated in the foreground, are painted in such a manner that there seems to be one body with four heads; their shields and axes lie on the ground.

Fol. 9v. *Ascension*. The Virgin stands between the apostles who look up towards Christ, seated and blessing in a mandorla borne by four angels. Red rays descend from the mandorla on the apostles.

Fol. 10. *Descent of the Holy Ghost*. The apostles are seated in groups of three in two rows: the tongues of fire descend upon the heads of the upper groups; a wide ray, with the dove, comes down on a chalice placed between the upper groups of apostles. A three-headed figure, one head being that of an animal, stands in the arched opening below. Overlapping segments represent the sky.

Fol. 10v. *Christ in Glory*. A large ornamental cross is raised on a rocky foundation. At the intersection of the two arms is a large medallion framing the beardless figure of Christ, seated and blessing. The heads and wings of four trumpeting angels come out from behind the medallion between the arms of the cross. The donor and his wife kneel at the foot of the cross. Inscriptions: over the man's head, 'Ter Vardan the *mahtesi*'; on the band under the cross, 'Remember in Christ Parsam the painter and my parents'.

Fol. 11. *Last Judgement*. The Ancient of Days is seated, holding the book and blessing; His feet rest on a footstool from which project the four symbolic beasts; on the left and right appear the half-figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist in the attitude of supplication. In the rectangular band below, an aged cleric, holding a book, stands in the centre; St. Peter with a large key and another apostle are on the left; St. Paul with a sword and another apostle are on the right. Below, on the left, is a small dark rectangle with three nude men; on the right, the scales hang from the frame. Two human-headed monsters, both carrying loads on their backs, try to lower the left tray of the scales; the right tray rests on the back of another monster who is stabbed by an angel projecting from the side of the frame.

Portraits of Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 21v.) and Luke (fol. 169v.) are seated writing; opposite Luke the half-figure of an angel projects from a segment of sky; John, his head turned to the Hand of God in the sky, dictates to Prochoros, seated under a domed building on the left (fol. 265v.). In the portrait of Mark, Peter is represented dictating to him (fol. 110v., Pl. 39a).

The rectangles over the *Letters of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* (foll. 12v.-16) rest on



two or three thin columns and are decorated with medallions, triangles, lozenges, or squares filled with ornamental designs. Besides the usual floral motifs the painter has represented fish, quadrupeds, enclosed in circles or rampant; and sirens with large wings, confronted or full face.

The *headpieces* of the four Gospels are Π -shaped or consist of rectangles with multi-foil arches opening into them and decorated with floral interlaces and sirens. Over the headpiece of Mark (fol. 111) two lions rush towards one another; three sirens appear among the foliage in the headpiece of John (fol. 266). Large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes fill the outer margins.

The marginal ornaments of the pericopes consist of small floral interlaces, birds, or sirens. They are occasionally replaced by figures or designs which bear a relation to the text: temples (foll. 87v., 151v., 246v.; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); Joseph of Arimathea, in bust (foll. 164, 258; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 50); one of the holy women, in bust (fol. 106, Mt. xxviii. 1); a bird with a cross nimb (fol. 183v., Lk. iv. 14).

REMARKS. The illustrations of this manuscript have marked affinities with the work done during the second half of the 15th century in monasteries on the northern and eastern shores of Lake Van, in particular with the manuscripts illustrated by the painter Minas between the years 1432 and 1469,¹ a Gospel written in 1475 at Berkri, in the monastery of Huskanordi (Boston, Public Library, no. 1327),² and another written at Aght'amar in 1497 (Bodleian, Arm. e. 1). The types and proportions of the figures, the draperies modelled with curved parallel lines, occasionally covering the entire surface, the leaf-like forms given to some of the folds, the predominant use of dark red are stylistic features common to all these manuscripts.³ The Gospel cycle and the iconography of specific scenes, especially the Entombment, the miniatures of the Second Coming and Last Judgement, are also typical of the 'Van school'.⁴

The scribe Parsam does not give sufficient information about himself; however, this name, which is not very common, appears in three illustrated Gospels: one written in 1498, in the region of Lake Van;⁵ two others written in 1508 and 1509 in the province of Mok's, south of Lake Van.⁶ In the Gospel of 1509 the scribe Parsam states that he was a pupil of Karapet of Berkri, whose work is known through several manuscripts illustrated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁷ The close connexions between the illustrations of our manuscript and the miniatures painted by Karapet of Berkri give us reason to believe that Parsam, the pupil of Karapet of Berkri, is the same person as the scribe of our manuscript, which should be located in the region of Lake Van and dated in the late 15th or early 16th century.

¹ See Codex no. 564, page 44, note 5.

² S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, figs. 1-13.

³ Paris, Syr. 344, a collection of miniatures with titles in Syriac and Armenian, is also extremely close to our manuscript and some of the compositions are almost identical with ours. No colophon is attached to these pages, but the spelling of certain words points to the region of Lake Van as the place of origin. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pls. xx-xxviii.

⁴ See Introduction, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

⁵ Lalayan, *Catalogue*, col. 526. The place of origin

is not mentioned, but since, in giving the date, the scribe refers to the catholicos of Aght'amar, the manuscript must have been written in the region of Lake Van.

⁶ Gospels of A.D. 1508 and 1509; Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 631-6, 636-40.

⁷ Gospel, A.D. 1473: Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 465-8; Aleppo, no. 48, Gospel, A.D. 1478: Surmèyan, *Catalogue*, i. 95-97; Hymnal, A.D. 1496: *Ararat*, 1898, p. 324; Etchmiadzin, no. 1549, Hymnal, A.D. 1501; Jerusalem, no. 1916, Hymnal, no date; Leipzig, no. 1098b: Macler, *Notices de manuscrits . . . de l'Europe centrale*, pp. 138-40.



The ornate cross with the medallion of Christ and trumpeting angels, the Last Judgement (foll. 10v. and 11) have been discussed in the Introduction;¹ interesting iconographic details appear in several other compositions.

The crowned Virgin of the Nativity (Pl. 39b), a type derived from Western models, appears in the manuscripts of Great Armenia in the 14th century, and continues to be represented in the following centuries.²

The pelican feeding his young, placed above the Crucifixion in this and other manuscripts of the Van school (Pl. 38a), had been represented in the art of western Europe beginning with the 12th century, and its appearance in Armenian works of the 15th century is probably due to European influence. According to the *Physiologus*, the pelican is the symbol of the Resurrection, for, having killed his young, he brought them back to life after three days by piercing his side and pouring his blood over them, just as God raised His son from the dead after three days.³ The Armenian version of the *Physiologus* has the same explanation,⁴ but the words which are often written next to the pelican's nest on the cross connect this representation more closely with the Crucifixion. They read: 'In similitude to Christ, the pelican pierced his side and fed his young. Christ pierced His side and redeemed us with His blood.'

The symmetrical composition of the Entombment, where two men, probably Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, face one another, had been used in Cilicia in the 14th century. In the Gospel illustrated in 1346 by Sargis Pidsak for Queen Mariun (Jerusalem, no. 1973), the two men lower the body into the sarcophagus. The painters of the Van school modified this type: the sarcophagus has disappeared and Christ's body is placed on a stone slab; two holy women appear at the sides, half-hidden by the frame; weeping angels come out of the segments of sky, and a large ornate cross, similar to the one used for the image of the Second Coming of Christ, rises in the background, between two candles.⁵

The portrait of Mark with Peter dictating to him (Pl. 39a) has as its pendant sometimes in Byzantine art the image of Paul dictating to Luke.⁶ In a Greek Gospel of the eleventh century (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 524)⁷ and in an Armenian Gospel of the late 12th century (Jerusalem, no. 1796) Peter and Mark are seated facing each other. This is also the type used in our miniature, though the awkward drawing

¹ Pages xxxiii-xxxiv.

² S. Der Nersessian, *Western Iconographic Themes*, pp. 76-79, fig. 4.

³ F. Sbordone, *Physiologus*, Milan, 1936, pp. 16-19.

⁴ Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie*, Paris, 1874, vol. i, p. 121; J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, Paris, 1852-8, vol. iii, pp. 389 and 625; Sbordone, op. cit., pp. lxiv and ff. According to N. Marr the Armenian text was translated from Greek in the 6th or 7th century; see Sbordone, loc. cit., and *Oriens Christianus*, iv (1904), 210.

⁵ Paris, Arm. 18: Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, fig. 38; Boston Public Library, no. 1327: S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Manuscript*, p. 8; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library no. 749, Gospel, A.D. 1461; Jerusalem, no. 2583, Gospel, A.D. 1444; Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Aleppo, no. 48, Gospel, A.D. 1478; Oxford, Bodleian Arm. e. 1, Gospel, A.D. 1497.

⁶ Jerusalem, *Ἀγίου Τάφου*, 56: A. Baumstark, 'Eine antike Bildkomposition in christlich-orientalischen Umdeutungen', *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 8 (1915), 111-23, pl. 30; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 524. For the study of this theme see also J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, 'Ein Evangelientyp mit Aposteln als Begleitfiguren', *Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 30-34.

⁷ This seated type is generally used in later Armenian manuscripts whenever Peter accompanies Mark: Jerusalem, no. 2569 (A.D. 1577-9); New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11 (A.D. 1621); Jerusalem, no. 2560 (A.D. 1624); Jerusalem, no. 2670 (A.D. 1640-3). The Cilician painters of the 13th century, and, occasionally, artists of a later period, have represented Theophilus standing in front of Luke: Jerusalem, no. 2563 (A.D. 1272); Etchmiadzin, no. 234/197 (A.D. 1287); Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum, McClean, no. 201; Jerusalem, no. 2567 (A.D. 1458-64).

gives the impression that Peter is kneeling. The addition of the angel, of the luminous rays, and the rocky background, the position of Peter, his head turned towards the angel, show a conflation with the composition of John dictating to Prochoros.¹ The image has been further complicated through the introduction of a vase placed under a stepped opening crowned with a dome. A ciborium-like construction with a bulbous dome is sometimes drawn above the desk of the Evangelist and a vase stands under the desk; this has become a purely decorative motif in our miniature.

The backgrounds are for the most part dark red and grey. Red and orange predominate in the draperies; the nimbs are yellow, no gold has been used.

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FOUR GOSPELS

16TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–8, Full-page miniatures; foll. 8v.–9, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 9v.–13, Canon tables; foll. 14–108, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 108v.–109, Colophons in later hands; fol. 109v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 110–69, Gospel of Mark; foll. 171–274, Gospel of Luke; fol. 274v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 275–349v., Gospel of John.

Lacunae. One leaf after fol. 13 with the portrait of Matthew; several leaves after fol. 349 with Jn. xxi. 10 to end and, probably, the colophon. Fol. 205 is torn off and only a small fragment of it remains; the missing text is Lk. viii. 15–25. Three pages (foll. 169v. to 170v.) are left blank after the Gospel of Mark, but the portrait of Luke has not been painted.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18 × 13 cm.; written surface, 12 × 9 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 349 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, yellowed and singed in places. Regular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the next lines and the initials of the verses are usually in gold *erka'agir*.

BINDING. Reddish-brown leather over boards, tooled cross in the centre and fleurons and ovals on the border. Holes probably left by metal cover now lost. Back missing.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written for Esayi *vardapet* probably in 1536 in Great Armenia (see *Remarks*).

COLOPHONS. Fol. 9, at the end of the Letter of Eusebius: 'Remember in Christ the owner of this holy Gospel, Esayi *vardapet*, and may God remember you in His kingdom. Amen.'

¹ In a manuscript illustrated in 1292 in the province of Siunik' each Evangelist dictates to a scribe; the compositions follow the iconographic type of the

portraits of John and Prochoros: Etchmiadzin, no. 1669, see G. Hovsep'ian, *Khagbakians*, i, fig. 58, portrait of Mark.



Fol. 108v.-109. Three brief colophons, dated 25 October 1895, relate that at the time of the great massacres of the Armenians by Sultan Hamid, in 1895, this manuscript was stolen from the church of St. Sergius in Tigranocerta, where it had always been kept, together with other church treasures. It was bought from the Turks at a high price and restored to the church of St. Sergius. The writer of the colophon adds: 'Before the book was stolen it bore the date of Christ nine hundred and eighty five; we have written this date because the old one was lost.' (See *Remarks*.)

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1. *Baptism.* John baptizes Christ, who stands in the water to His waist, hands stretched out. On the right are two angels; above, the dove descending from the segment of sky. Three fishes swim in the water.

Fol. 1v. *Presentation.* The Virgin and Joseph on the left, Simeon, with the infant Jesus, and Anna on the right, stand at the sides of an altar with a book. Two arches, joined by an architrave and supporting a dome, are drawn in the background. A red drapery hangs from the dome.

Fol. 2. *Raising of Lazarus.* Christ, followed by nine disciples, advances towards Lazarus; Martha and Mary embrace His feet. A young servant unwinds the shroud of Lazarus with his left hand and raises his right hand to his face; another young man carries away the slab of stone. The latter is drawn partly astride the frame, his legs coming down below the lower band. The heads of three men appear above the sepulchre, under a small ciborium-like construction; the extended hand of one of these men comes out under the architrave.

Fol. 2v. *Entry into Jerusalem.* Christ, followed by nine apostles, is greeted by a Jew holding a small branch, and by a child who spreads his garment; a second Jew stands inside the gate of a small walled city and a child cuts the branches of a tree.

Fol. 3. *Washing of the Feet.* Christ, standing, wipes the foot of Peter, who is seated on a high stool and points to his head. Ten other apostles are seated next to Peter on a low bench. A simple rectangular construction and a columnar building, joined by a drapery, fill the background.

Fol. 3v. *Betrayal.* Pl. 42a.

Fol. 4. *Crucifixion.* The Virgin and John stand at the sides of the cross; the sun and moon are drawn above the arms of the cross.

Fol. 4v. *Entombment.* Two men in short tunics carry the body of Christ stretched on a slab; behind them may be seen two women and, farther up, under the segments of sky, two angels. A large ornate cross raised on a mound and flanked by two crosses fills the background.

Fol. 5. *Harrowing of Hell.* Christ, holding a long cross, walks on the broken gates between which can be seen the head and forepart of a demon, and He takes Adam by the hand. Eve and another woman (instead of Abel) appear behind Adam; David, Solomon, and John the Baptist are on the right. The two sides of the miniature and the foreground are painted black.

Fol. 5v. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre.* The three Marys, one of them carrying a lamp, stand on the left; the angel, seated on a stone, points to the empty sepulchre. The sleeping soldiers, seated in the foreground, are represented in such a way that

there seems to be one body with four heads, their swords and axes lie on the ground, on the right. A ciborium-like building is drawn above the sepulchre; on the left there is a simpler construction with a drapery.

Fol. 6. *Ascension*. Christ, seated in a pointed, oval mandorla, is borne by eight angels with wings spread horizontally. Below are the Virgin, orans, and the twelve apostles.

Fol. 6v. *Descent of the Holy Ghost*. A horizontal band divides the miniature into two sections. Above, two groups of three apostles are seated at the sides of a small altar above which appears the dove; there are no rays or tongues of fire. Interlacing arches support a dome. The other apostles are seated below, in two groups of three; between them is an arched opening, framing a young crowned figure and two other young men in pointed bonnets.

Fol. 7. *Transfiguration*. Christ stands in an oval mandorla; Elijah and Moses, bearded and holding a book, stand at His sides on separate hillocks. In the foreground, Peter and James, at the sides, point to the vision; John, in the centre, covers his face.

Fol. 7v. *Dormition of the Virgin*. Pl. 42b.

Fol. 8. *Last Judgement*. A narrow horizontal band separates the miniature into two sections; above are the twelve apostles, seated in two groups; below, the weighing of the souls. The scales hang from a hook under the horizontal band; the left tray rests on the back of a demon; another demon tries to pull down the right tray and two others stand in the foreground, one of them with a load on his back. On the left are half-figures of angels who pierce the demons with their lances.

Fol. 75. *Entry into Jerusalem*. (In the upper part of the page, above Mt. xxi. 2-6.) Christ is followed by three apostles and is greeted by an old man standing inside the city gate.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Mark (fol. 109v.) is seated, meditating. The book of the Gospels is on the table in front of a fish-shaped lectern instead of being placed on it. A drapery and stylized floral and geometric designs fill the greater part of the background. John (fol. 274v.) stands inside an ornate rectangular frame and dictates to Prochoros, seated on the left inside a smaller and simpler frame. The Hand of God comes out of the segment of sky above Prochoros, but John turns his head in the opposite direction as he usually does when the segment of sky is drawn above his head.

The rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* are decorated with various combinations of intersecting floral designs or with floral scrolls on a gold ground; small arches with zigzag or rainbow motifs are inscribed in some of the rectangles. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpius appear under the arches, as usual, and trees with birds are drawn in the margins.

The *headpieces* are Π -shaped or consist of rectangles with multifoil arches opening into them and decorated with floral designs similar to those of the Canon tables. On fol. 275 two crowned sirens appear among the foliage.

The marginal ornaments consist of floral interlaces, birds, and sirens, except when other motifs are required by the text, such as trees (foll. 74, 76v., 146, 147v., 250v.; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 86, 149, 153, 154, 252v., 256v.,

280, 300, 313; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xi. 27, xii. 35, xiii. 1; Lk. xx. 1, xxi. 5; Jn. ii. 12, vii. 14, x. 22; crosses (foll. 163v., 343v.; Mk. xv. 1; Jn. xix. 17); a cross-nimbed bird (foll. 186v., 286v., Lk. iv. 14; Jn. iv. 24); a bird with a demon's head (fol. 220, Lk. xi. 14); Joseph of Arimathea (fol. 345v., Jn. xix. 38).

REMARKS. The date of A.D. 985 mentioned in the colophon added in 1895 is obviously wrong. It is probable, however, that the date written in the original colophon, now lost, was the year 985 of the Armenian era; this would correspond to A.D. 1536, which is approximately the date suggested by the style of the miniatures and by the name of the owner.

For stylistic reasons the owner, Esayi *vardapet*, cannot be the well-known abbot of the monastery of Gladzor, in the province of Siunik', who lived in the 14th century. But we know of another Esayi *vardapet* who resided at the monastery of the White Virgin (*Spitakavor Surb Astvadsadsin*), in this same province, during the first half of the 16th century. He is mentioned by Zak'aria, bishop of Gnunik', who refers to him as the 'great *vardapet*' and his learned teacher. Zak'aria presented to him the Romance of Alexander which he had copied and illustrated while he was in Rome.¹ The manuscript is not dated, but it must have been written after 1538, when Zak'aria had already left his native land,² and possibly before 1544 when, during his visit to Constantinople, he illustrated for the Armenian patriarch Astvadsatur the copy of the Romance of Alexander now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, no. 3. Zak'aria must have returned to Armenia shortly after 1544, for in 1549 he had settled at the monastery of Lim on the island of Lake Van,³ and it is probable that he visited his former teacher Esayi between the years 1544 and 1549.

By identifying the owner of our manuscript with this Esayi *vardapet*, we can also presume that it was written at the monastery of the White Virgin, in Siunik'. The manuscripts copied in this monastery during the late 15th century show the continued influence of the work of T'oros of Taron, one of the prominent artists of Siunik' in the 14th century.⁴ This influence is also apparent in the illustration of our manuscript. The decorations of the Letter of Eusebius and of the Canon tables, the compositions of the Baptism, Transfiguration, Crucifixion, and of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre are very close to the corresponding pages in the Gospel of Venice no. 1917, illustrated by T'oros of Taron in 1307.⁵ There are also marked analogies with his Gospel of A.D. 1321 (Jerusalem, no. 2360).

The painter has followed the iconographic types of his own period whenever these differ substantially from the compositions of the 14th century. The Entombment is very close to the composition of Codex no. 567. As in other examples of the 15th and

¹ J. Dashian, *Study of the Romance of Alexander by the pseudo-Callisthenes* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1892, pp. 88-91. G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, i. 242-4. It is probably this same Esayi who is referred to as a young man in a Gospel of the year 1482: Erivan, no. 1091, Hovsep'ian, op. cit. i. 236.

² N. Akinian, *Zak'aria, Bishop of Gnunik'* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1909, pp. 5-6.

³ G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit. i. 243. He was still at Lim in 1576 when he copied a Hymnal, Etchmiadzin no. 1610/1613: *ibid.* 244.

⁴ See manuscripts mentioned by G. Hovsep'ian, op. cit. i. 231-8, and compare the headpiece of a Gospel of the year 1475 (Etchmiadzin, no. 2634/377; Hovsep'ian, op. cit., fig. 102), with the headpiece of a Gospel illustrated by T'oros in 1307 (Hartford Sem. Found. no. 3; S. Der Nersessian, *Western Iconographic Themes*, fig. 4).

⁵ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens*, pls. LV-LIX, XLVII, fig. 105, pl. XLVIII, fig. 106, pl. L, fig. 111, pl. LI, fig. 113.



16th centuries the apostles have not been represented in the Betrayal, and the Mocking of Christ is suggested by the two men carrying cymbals and a trumpet (Pl. 42a). The Last Judgement is also based on the iconographic type discussed in connexion with the paintings of the 'Van school',¹ but the principal group of Christ between the Virgin and John the Baptist has been omitted, and the apostles appear to be the judges (fol. 8). A similar composition may be seen in a Gospel written in 1557,² and we find an earlier example in the Gospel of 1475 in Boston. In the latter the apostles and the weighing of the souls, separated from the Deesis figured on the opposite page, are placed under the cross with the medallion of Christ.³ The Dormition of the Virgin (Pl. 42b) is also very similar to the composition of the Boston Gospel.⁴

The predominant colours are a light red, orange, blue, and a light purple. In the full-page miniatures the backgrounds are usually covered with a yellow wash instead of gold, and sometimes painted in different colours. Gold is used for the nimbs, the ground of the Canon tables, headpieces, and marginal ornaments.

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

15TH-16TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Single leaf from a Gospel; yellowed paper measuring 24.2 × 17 cm.

LAST JUDGEMENT. Christ is seated on the tetramorphic throne between the Virgin and John the Baptist who stand in the attitude of prayer; behind them rise three gold columns joined by a red drapery. The nimbs of all three figures have thin radiating lines, and white dots around the edge. Inscriptions: 'The tetramorphic throne; John the Baptist.' The busts of seven figures with similar nimbs fill a narrow band, the central figure is tonsured. Inscription: 'The forefathers.' A wider band below the first one is divided into two halves; five nude men are represented in the left half. Inscriptions: 'These are the sinners; these are the sin lovers.' The weighing of the souls fills the right half: the scales hang from the frame, the left tray rests on the back of a quadruped, while a human-headed quadruped pulls down the right tray; a similar figure behind him carries a load on his back. Two angels, in bust, pierce these demons with their lances. Inscriptions: 'Behold the day of judgement; woe unto him who has sins; the scales of righteousness; satans; demons; angels; righteousness (next to the left tray); the sins (next to the right tray and next to the load carried by a demon).'

REMARKS. The iconography and style point to the late 15th or early 16th century. The rich colours used for the draperies—dark red, purple, green, purplish pink—and the deep blue background are very effective, and the stylized draperies form pleasing patterns. The central figure below Christ probably represents St. Gregory the

¹ Introduction, p. xxxiv.

² Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1660; Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i, p. 526.

³ S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, fig. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 4.

Illuminator, and while the others are designated as 'the forefathers', they are doubtless the apostles, as in other examples.¹

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1541

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1, 2v.-3, Canon tables; fol. 4v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 5-61v., Gospel of Matthew, with preface at the end; foll. 62-92v., Gospel of Mark with preface at the end; fol. 93v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 94-146v., Gospel of Luke with preface at the end; fol. 147v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 148-88, Gospel of John with preface at the end; foll. 188v.-190, and 191v., Colophons.

Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from an old Gospel in *erkat'agir*.

Lacunae. Before fol. 1, Letter of Eusebius and Canon table 1; after fol. 3, Canons 6 to 10; between foll. 61 and 62, portrait of Mark.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32.3 × 21.5 cm.; written surface 22.5 × 14.5 cm.; 2 columns of 27 lines each. 191 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured paper. Medium size *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line or the first two lines of each Gospel are in floral letters, the pericope initials in floral or zoomorphic letters; the next two lines of each Gospel and the initials of the verses are in red *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Plain dark brown leather, over boards, mottled with ink marks.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1541 by the bishop Hovsep' at the monastery of Khartishar, in the province of Tchemeshkadsak.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 4, short prayer. Fol. 188v.-191, 'Glory . . . Now this holy Gospel was written in the year of the Armenians 990 (= A.D. 1541) by the hand of the sinful and stupid soul Hovsep', falsely called a bishop, in the province of Tchemeshkadsak, in the monastery of Khartishar, under the shelter of the holy Theotokos, and Saint Karapet and Saint Sargis the general and his son Martiros and other holy buildings which are erected here, while the superior of the monastery was the bishop Ter Karapet, who departed to Christ. And during the prelacy at Etchmiadzin in Vagharchapat of Ter Grigoris; and during the other prelacy at Sis of Ter Simeon. While Ter Tadeos Harpet was our metropolitan and the congregation of the monastery, counting the major and minor clerics who are now present, numbered twenty-six; leaving aside the deacons, the beadles, the pilgrims and the servants. Now I beseech you all . . . who copy this, for it was written from a good and choice model . . ., remember the miserable, unskilled and poor scribe Hovsep' the unworthy bishop, and my father, according to the flesh, Martiros, who for thirty years served as a beadle in this monastery, and my mother Dshkhoy. . . . O Christ, Logos, light, life, wisdom and

¹ See Introduction, p. xxxiv.

power of God . . . have mercy on the owner of this book, the bishop Hovsep', . . . and on my spiritual son, the tender Vardan Malaz . . . and on the *abegha* Vardan who prepared the paper, and on the deacon Murat for both worked much; may God reward them. And now I, Hovsep', wrote this holy Gospel and placed it at the monastery of Khartishar, at the door of the Holy Theotokos, and Saint Karapet and Saint Sargis, as a memorial of myself, and of my parents. . . . May God have mercy on the soul of my teacher, master Grigor who laboured much over me, and on the *vardapet* Simeon who taught me the art of illuminating, may God brighten his soul; and on Arak'el *abegha* who taught me to write, may God prepare them for His paradise . . . Amen.'

Fol. 190, in a smaller writing: 'this holy Gospel was bound and renovated in the year 1177 (= A.D. 1728) at the Red Monastery under the shelter of Saint Karapet and the Holy Cross, by the hand of the sinful cleric, and pilgrim (*mahtesi*) Ter Sargis. The people of the village with much love and great desire gave of their rightful earnings and had this bound, and they placed it at the door of the church of the Three Children, for the enjoyment of Ter T'at'iros and his son Ter Arak'el, and Ter Markos, and the newly-ordained Ter Grigor. And I pray Christ, that at His second coming, He may grant them the remission of their sins and bestow upon them the reward of their good deeds. Amen. Our Father.'

Fol. 191v., brief colophon in *notrgir* with the name of *tiratsu* Martiros of Ayvan and the date 1271 (= A.D. 1822).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 4v., *Matthew* is seated on a high cushioned chair and holds the book on his knees; an angel, with extended arms, comes out from the segment of sky in the upper right corner. The entire background, save for a rectangular space behind Matthew's head, is filled with geometric designs which are stylizations of the decorated chair, desk, and lectern used in such portraits. Gold is used only for the nimbs.

Fol. 93v. *Luke*. Pl. 43a.

Fol. 147v. *John* standing, head turned towards the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky, dictates to Prochoros, seated on the left in front of an ornate ciborium.

The *Canon tables* are in the shape of rectangles supported by three columns, decorated with leaves drawn inside interlacing lozenges and rectangles (fol. 1) or with a floral scroll interrupted by a pointed arch under which is represented a sleeping animal (foll. 2v.-3). Above the rectangles birds stand at the sides of a vase. The *headpieces* are in the shape of large rectangles (foll. 5, 62, 94) with a multifoil arch opening into them and decorated with a floral scroll or intersecting palmettes arranged to form a geometric design. The headpiece of John is Π -shaped, decorated with an all-over pattern of leaves and palmettes. All these ornaments, tinted red, are painted against a blue ground. The marginal ornaments of floral interlaces are occasionally replaced by sirens or birds, or small designs which are connected with the text: trees (foll. 41v., 42v., 43v., 80v., 81v., 134; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18, xxi. 33; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 48v., 82, 84v., 137, 151v., 168; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xi. 27, xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. ii. 23, x. 22); crosses (foll. 55v., 56v., 59v., 60, 84, 87v., 90, 139, 141, 174, 174v., 180, 181v., 183; Mt. xxvi. 53, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 57, xxviii. 1; Mk. xii. 35, xiv. 2, xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 21, xxii. 66; Jn. xiii. 16, xiii. 31, xviii. 2, xviii. 28, xix. 17).

The only marginal miniature represents the Virgin of the Annunciation, standing (fol. 95v., Lk. i. 26).

REMARKS. The scribe and illuminator, Hovsep', son of Martiros and Dshkhoy, was a member of the monastery of Khartishar. In 1516 he copied a Ritual which he illuminated with marginal ornaments;¹ in another Ritual copied in 1511 his name is listed among the members of the community as 'Hovsep' the painter'.² A Hymnal, dated A.D. 1502, appears to have been his earliest work, for he wrote in the colophon: 'be lenient for the largeness (of the script) and the mistakes for this is the first Hymnal that I wrote.'³ His name also appears in a manuscript written in 1529 (Etchmiadzin, no. 1548).

The interest in ornamental patterns, a characteristic feature of the art of the 16th century, is even more marked than usual in the work of our painter. The geometric designs which fill almost the entire background of the portraits of the Evangelists (Pl. 43a) are extreme stylizations of the buildings and accessories such as chair, desk, lectern. The folds of the draperies show little regard for the natural forms and are drawn with the primary intention of creating an effective pattern. The Evangelists with narrow, slit eyes, low forehead, drooping moustaches, differ from the usual types. The general colour scheme is fairly dark and dull; gold is used only for the nimbs and the backgrounds are painted a dark blue. The ornaments of the headpieces and the marginal designs are tinted in red.

The monastery of Khartishar near Tchemeshkadsak⁴ (or Chemishgesek) does not seem to have had a particularly active scriptorium and only a small number of manuscripts which were written there have survived.⁵ In 1884 our Gospel was still in the village of Haght'uk, near Tchemeshkadsak.⁶

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FOUR GOSPELS

16TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; fol. 11v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 12-99, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 100v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 101-54v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 155v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 156-243v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 243v., Preface of John; fol. 245v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 246-310v., Gospel of John.

At the beginning and at the end there is a large vellum folio, folded into two, taken from an old Gospel in *erkat'agir*.

¹ Vat. Borgianus Arm. 17: Tisserant, *Catalogue*, pp. 20-22.

² Vienna, Mekhitharist Library, no. 123: Dashian, *Catalogue*, p. 407.

³ Vienna, Mekhitharist Library, no. 209: *ibid.*, p. 532.

⁴ In the vilayet of Mamuret ul-Aziz, north of the sandjak of Dersim. The modern town is built over the ancient Armenian town, some of the ruined build-

ings of which are still visible: Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris, 1891, vol. ii, pp. 392-3.

⁵ In addition to those already mentioned see Oxford, Bodleian, Arm. e. 7, Ritual dated A.D. 1491 (Conybeare and Baronian, *Catalogue*, col. 28-9); Leiden, Or. 5490, Gospel dated A.D. 1598 (Macler, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Belgique...*, pp. 68-73).

⁶ Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, vol. ii, p. 364.



MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25 × 17.5 cm.; written surface, 18.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 310 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick, polished cream paper. Large *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, stamped with small circles. Flap with cord design. On the end cover, nail-holes and traces of lost ornaments.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 16th century.

COLOPHON. None.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 11v. *Matthew.* Pl. 43b.

Fol. 100v. *Mark* is seated like Matthew before a slightly less ornate background. An angel with arms extended comes out of the segment of sky in the upper right corner.

Fol. 155v. *Luke* is seated on a plain wooden bench in front of a simple lectern on which he holds the book; there is no table. In the background above the wall can be seen a round domed building on the left, and a rectangular tower on the right, connected with a drapery. This miniature is painted against a gold background, in an entirely different style from the others.

Fol. 245v. *John* standing full face before a high rock, painted pink, blue, and brown, turns his head to the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky, and dictates to Prochoros seated on a low rock, on the left, in front of a building with an arched façade.

The *Letter of Eusebius*, with the usual portraits of Eusebius and Carpius, is decorated with floral scrolls slightly touched with red, drawn against a blue background. The *Canon tables*, executed in the same manner, show the usual combinations of triangles or arches drawn in the rectangles, and filled with floral scrolls. On foll. 7v. and 8, monkeys (or dogs?), holding a candle, are drawn in the outer margins, next to the columns.

The *headpieces* consist of large rectangles with multifoil arches opening into them; they are filled with interlacing palmettes determining squares or lozenges. The floral ornaments, slightly touched with red, are drawn against a blue background.

The simple floral interlaces drawn in the margins and tinted red are occasionally replaced by birds and by motifs connected with the text: trees (foll. 69, 71, 134v., 136, 223; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 79v., 141v., 228v., 278v.; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xi. 5; Jn. x. 22); crosses (foll. 89, 91, 92v., 146v., 150v., 235v., 299, 301; Mt. xxvi. 31, xxvi. 57, xxvii. 1; Mk. xiv. 27, xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xviii. 2, xviii. 28).

REMARKS. There is no indication of date or place, but the facial types of Matthew, Mark, and John with narrow, slit eyes and a low forehead, the draperies with their heavy parallel folds, and especially the geometric designs filling all the available space in the portraits of the first two Evangelists, recall the miniatures of the preceding Gospel no. 570 (Pl. 43a). This manuscript should therefore also be dated in the middle of the 16th century and assigned to the region of Tchemeshkadsak in Asia Minor. The



miniatures are of a better quality than those of no. 570, and the colour harmonies of delicate blues and pinks are more pleasing. The ornamental designs are also more carefully drawn. No gold has been used in this manuscript.

The portrait of Luke painted on a separate sheet is taken from another manuscript. The large head, the long bust, the ample draperies, with one end projecting in a point, the simple bench on which he is seated, recall in a cruder style the portraits of the Evangelists of the Beatty Gospel no. 562, dated A.D. 1364, but this miniature is of a considerably later date.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1574

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-15, Full-page miniatures; foll. 15v.-16, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 16v.-20, Canon tables; foll. 21v.-22v., Headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 23v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 24-100v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 100v.-101v., Preface of Matthew; preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 102v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 103-48v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 148v.-150, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 150v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 151-228v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 229-30, Headings and preface of the Gospel of John; fol. 230v., Portrait of John; foll. 231-88, Gospel of John; foll. 288-93, Colophons.

Paper fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from a Gospel written in the large *bolorgir* of the 13th century.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21.5 × 16 cm.; written surface, 15.5 × 11 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 293 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick, cream paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the second and third lines and the initials of the verses are in red or brown *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Rough, nearly black leather, with large tooled star in stamp border. The back is loose; it is stamped with a square set in a circle.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1574 at the monastery of Gregory of Narek (south-west of Van) by the bishop Grigor for the *tanuter* David.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 16, under the Letter of Eusebius: 'I beseech you, remember in Christ the sinful scribe.'

The principal colophon begins on fol. 288 with the usual doxology and the explanation of the symbolic meaning of the number four. Fol. 289v.: '... the thrice blessed, pure, faithful, and God-loving *tanuter* David and his wife Et'ar and their sons ... had this holy Gospel written from their honest and rightful earnings, in memory of their souls and of their parents ... (follows a long list of names) fol. 290v. ... and they gave

this as a present to the church of Saint Gregory of Narek and Saint Sandukht and the Holy Resurrection, . . . so that, through this, the children of the holy church might rejoice and, with full mouth and a righteous heart, say: God have mercy on David and on his wife Et'ar and on their children. . . . And now, I, the least of scribes and an unworthy one among clerics, Grigor, a bishop only by name, I witnessed the love and the desire they had (fol. 291) for the spiritual, and, in my unworthiness, I undertook, and with the omnipotent power of God I completed this with my sinful hands, in the monastery of Saint Grigor . . . called Narek, during the patriarchate of Ter Grigor the younger, in the year of our era 1023 (= A.D. 1574). And though unskilled in the art of writing, and burdened with many sins, but to the extent of the ability conferred upon me by the (Holy) Ghost, with great labour I copied this from a correct and choice original . . . in the bitter and sorrowful period during which we are subjected to the unlawful. . . . The colophon continues on foll. 291-2, prayers are again asked for the owners and their family, for the scribe, his parents, his brother, and his master, the pilgrim and cleric Arsen, who taught him the art of writing . . . 'and now, I, Melik' Sult'an Khotché, and my father, David, we gave this holy Gospel to the church of Saint (Gregory) of Narek. Let no one dare remove this. . . .'

Fol. 292v., by the same hand: 'O, orders of priests, remember in your pure prayers the unworthy Karapet, the binder, and my father and mother and all our blood-connections, living and dead. Amen. And my teacher, Ter Nerses, who died by the sword, and my master Astvadsatur, who taught me writing and binding, may God shed lustre upon his soul. . . . Amen.'

On fol. 292v. brief colophons by a later hand, mention a 'Ter Hakob' and 'the prelate Ter Zak'aria who bought this from his rightful earnings'.

On fol. 293, on a different paper, a brief colophon, dated 1110 (= A.D. 1661), asks for prayers for Paghtasar and for various members of his family. A second colophon has the name of Ter Step'annos, but no date.

A modern hand has written on fol. 149: 'We wish eternal rest to the writer and the illuminator of this holy Gospel, especially to the bishop Ter Grigor.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Annunciation.* Pl. 44a.

Fol. 2. *Nativity.* Pl. 44b.

Fol. 3v. *Presentation.* The Virgin and Joseph, carrying two doves, Simeon with the infant Jesus in his arms, and the prophetess Anna holding a phylactery, stand at the sides of an altar, placed under a large ciborium which has three conical domes supported by five slender columns.

Fol. 4. *Baptism.* John the Baptist, nude save for a drapery wound around his hips and thrown over the left shoulder, lays his right hand on the head of Christ, who wears a loin cloth and stands full face in a horizontal band of water which comes up to His knees. An additional mass of water rises up, in domical form, to Christ's shoulders. Two angels, with clothes over their arms, stand on the right. Rays, with a circle in the middle, come down from the segment of sky in the centre. Fishes and the allegorical figure of the Jordan are faintly drawn in the horizontal band of water.

Fol. 5. *Transfiguration.* Christ is surrounded by an oval mandorla; on the left, Elijah, on the right, Moses, beardless, holding a book, stand on separate peaks. In



the foreground, John and James are seated and cover their faces with their hands. Peter lies full length, and raises his right hand towards Christ.

Fol. 6. *Raising of Lazarus*. Christ, followed by a compact group of the twelve apostles, approaches Lazarus standing in the opening of the tomb; next to Lazarus is a young man, one hand partly raised to his face. Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet; one of them turns her head towards a young man carrying a slab of stone. This group partially hides a row of five shrouded figures, standing in tombs in the lower right corner of the miniature.

Fol. 7v. *Entry into Jerusalem*. Christ seated on the ass, followed by the apostles, is greeted by three old men standing inside the city gate; one of the latter holds a branch. In the foreground two children spread their garments. A group of men and women stand on the terrace, above the city gate, next to which is a large tree with a child cutting a branch.

Fol. 8. *Harrowing of Hell*. Christ, full-face, carrying a large cross, walks on the broken gates and takes Adam by the hand. Behind Adam are Eve and Abel with outstretched hands; on the right David, Solomon, and John the Baptist standing. A low, turreted wall limits the scene at the back; flames leap up in the foreground.

Fol. 9v. *Communion of the Apostles*. Pl. 45a.

Fol. 10. *Crucifixion*. Christ is nailed to an ornate cross raised in front of a low wall; the Virgin and another woman stand on the left, John and the centurion on the right. The sun and moon are drawn above the arms of the cross.

Fol. 11v. *Entombment*. Two aged men, in short tunics, stand facing one another and carry the body of Christ stretched on a slab; behind each man stands a woman. Half-figures of angels project from the segments of sky in the upper corners of the frame. A large ornate cross, raised on a mound, occupies the entire central part of the miniature.

Fol. 12. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. The three women approach the angel who, seated on a slab of stone covered with a diaper design, points to the sepulchre which is absolutely empty. Small circles are drawn behind the angel (stars?). In the foreground four soldiers are seated, asleep; their shields and swords lie on the ground next to them.

Fol. 13v. *Ascension*. Christ is seated in an oval mandorla borne by two flying angels. Below, the Virgin in the centre, in profile, and the apostles, in two groups, gaze upward. The figure of the Virgin has been partly retouched.

Fol. 14. *Pentecost*. Pl. 45b.

Fol. 15. *Last Judgement*. Christ is enthroned on the four symbolic beasts; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at His sides in the attitude of supplication. Behind the group rise columns connected with a drapery. The scales hang from the paw of the lion (lower left of the throne), and are pulled down by three nude figures rising out of the flames. To the right St. Peter(?) takes a young man by the hand. A black rectangle in the lower left corner is filled with heads in four rows.

The Evangelists *Matthew* (fol. 23v.), *Mark* (fol. 102v.), and *Luke* (fol. 150v.) are seated in front of a table on which is placed a small lectern with a book. Above Matthew's desk there is a small structure with bulbous domes; a drapery hangs from a loop in the centre of the upper frame in the portraits of Matthew and Mark. On. fol. 230v.

John, head turned towards the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky, dictates to Prochoros, seated on a bench, on the left, in front of a peaked mountain.

The decorative frames of the *Letter of Eusebius* and of the *Canon tables* are fairly simple. The rectangles are divided into sections by inscribed arches or diagonal bands, and filled with floral scrolls and geometric designs; on foll. 17v. and 18 a seated deer fills the central triangle. A small piece of paper has been pasted over the portrait of Eusebius represented, as usual, in the lunette. Lion masks or other animal heads are occasionally used for the capitals.

The *headpieces* are Π -shaped or consist of rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with floral motifs forming geometric designs; on fol. 151 two sirens are drawn among the foliage.

Large ornaments of interlacing palmettes, crowned with a cross, fill the entire margin on the first page of each Gospel; smaller floral interlaces or birds mark the beginnings of pericopes. These are replaced by other motifs or figures when required by the text, such as: temples (foll. 83, 136v., 215; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); a cross (foll. 282v., Jn. xix. 17); Joseph of Arimathea (foll. 146v., 225; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 50); a holy woman (fol. 99; Mt. xxviii. 1).

REMARKS. The miniatures are painted in rather subdued colours, against pink or light green backgrounds; no gold has been used. The conventional treatment of the draperies in some of the compositions, with the folds indicated by heavy parallel lines, or by ovals to mark the thighs and the knees, contrasts with the flowing lines and ample mantles of such figures as the Angel of the Annunciation or Christ in the Harrowing of Hell. Some of the figures stand in rigid poses, others have a lively movement. The high peaked mountains in the Nativity, Baptism, and the portrait of John and Prochoros, differ from the types used in manuscripts of this period and this region; the large ciboriums in the Presentation and the Communion of the Apostles are not stylized as they usually are in the 16th-century manuscripts.

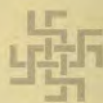
These stylistic discrepancies within the manuscript itself, and the differences from contemporary works, which are at first baffling, become quite clear when we realize that the artist was copying a much earlier work. By a happy coincidence the actual model, or one very much like it, is preserved; it is the Gospel no. 1941 of Jerusalem copied about the year 1334–6 at Sultaniya and illustrated by Avag, one of the foremost artists of Great Armenia at this time.¹ Another work by Avag, the Gospel of Erivan no. 99, dated A.D. 1329, is very close in style and composition to the Gospel of Jerusalem,² but slight iconographic variants in the Nativity and the Ascension differentiate this manuscript a little more from the copy of the 16th century.

Except for three scenes—the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, the Entombment, and the Last Judgement—all the others are to be found in the Jerusalem Gospel and the compositions are identical. The figures, their attitudes, their respective places in the composition, even the secondary details of the scenery or the architectural setting are faithfully repeated by the 16th-century painter, and only rarely are minor elements omitted, like the steps leading to the upper chamber in the Pentecost scene. The

¹ Catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian, 'Mkhit'ar of Ani', in *Hask, Antilias*, 1948, pp. 196–219, figs. 3–13.

See Introduction, p. xxxii, for the work of Avag.

² Hovsep'ian, *op. cit.*, p. 204.



copyist has also attempted to imitate the style of his model; whenever he has succeeded we find the flowing draperies or the lively movements which contrast with the art of the 16th century and the style of the painter himself.

The scenes omitted in the Jerusalem Gospel are the only ones which differ from the compositions painted by Avag in other manuscripts and conform to the iconographic types of the 16th century. In the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre represented by Avag in another manuscript in the British Museum¹ the angel is firmly seated on the rock and the soldiers lie asleep in natural poses, while in our manuscript the rock has become a flat rectangle covered with a diaper pattern and the soldiers sit pressed close against one another as in other manuscripts of the 16th century. Again, in the same London manuscript the two men who carry the shrouded body of Christ walk one behind the other (foll. 23v. and 68v.), but our painter has adopted the symmetrical composition of his time: the two men face one another and a large cross rises in the background. The Last Judgement of the Erivan Gospel of A.D. 1329 is a complex composition based in part on the Byzantine type used by Cilician painters of the 13th century,² such as T'oros Roslin, while in our manuscript we find, once again, the iconographic scheme commonly used from the 15th century on.

In view of the identity of the compositions common to our manuscript and the Jerusalem Gospel and the use of later iconographic types for those scenes which are not to be found in this Gospel, we may assume that the Jerusalem manuscript was actually the model copied by our painter. This seems all the more probable since a colophon added in 1424 by a later owner informs us that the Gospel was no longer in Sultaniya but had been brought to Sgherd (or Se'ert), south of Lake Van, in the same general region as the monastery of Narek where our Gospel was written. The name of the monastery to which the Jerusalem Gospel was presented by the later owner is unfortunately illegible, and there is a period of more than a hundred years between the date of this colophon and that of our manuscript, but the information is none the less significant and provides an objective confirmation of our hypothesis.

The ornaments of the headpieces and marginal designs differ from those of the Jerusalem Gospel, painted by the scribe Mkhit'ar who wrote the text,³ as well as from the decorations painted by Avag himself in other manuscripts. Our miniaturist has drawn the types of ornaments current in his period, just as he had adopted the contemporary iconography for those scenes for which he had no model.

¹ Brit. Mus. Or. 5304, fol. 23v. Conybeare, *Catalogue*, pp. 27-28, assigns the manuscript to the years 1400 to 1500. The name of the painter which allows us to date the manuscript more accurately had escaped the attention of Conybeare; it is written at the end of the Letter of Eusebius: 'I beseech you to remember Avag the painter and scribe.' This name and the style of the miniatures leave no doubt that the illustrations are the work of the painter Avag who was active between the years 1329 and 1358. A few miniatures from this manuscript have been reproduced by A. Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, vol. i, pp. 106, 112; vol. ii,

p. 264; vol. iii, p. xvi.

² The composition is divided over two pages; on fol. 26v. we have the Deesis, the angels rolling the sky, the row of seated apostles, and two archangels holding lances; on fol. 27, a group of standing bishops fill the upper part of the page, below are angels sounding their trumpets, and the dead rising from the tombs. For an example of the Cilician type by T'oros Roslin, cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxviii.

³ Garegin I, Hovsep'ian, op. cit., figs. 14-15.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1596

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-11, Full-page miniatures: fol. 12v., Beginning of the Letter of Eusebius; foll. 13v.-14, Full-page miniatures; fol. 15, Canon 1; fol. 16, Crucifixion; fol. 17v., End of the Letter of Eusebius; foll. 18-23, Canons 2 to 10; foll. 24-28, Preface, headings, and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 29v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 30-121, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 121v.-123v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 124v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 125-82v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 183-6v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 188v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 189-283v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 284-6, Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 288v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 289-354v., Gospel of John; fol. 354v.-357, Colophons.

Lacunae. Between foll. 356 and 357 with the end of the principal colophon. The second column of fol. 92v. is left blank, but no text is missing. Several folios have been misplaced at the beginning when the manuscript was rebound; the proper order is as follows: foll. 1-8, 16, 9-10, 13-14, 11, 12, 17, 15, 18 and following. Two folios bear the number 20; foll. 357 and 358 are pasted together.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17 × 11.5 cm.; written surface 13 × 8 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 359 folios plus 6 unnumbered.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin, browned paper, *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral, zoomorphic, and occasionally anthropomorphic letters; the second line of each Gospel is in gold *erkat'agir*, the next two and the initials of the verses are in red *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards; blind-tooled; fleuron in centre and two rectangular frames with geometric and floral patterns.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1596 at Constantinople by Martiros, native of Khizan.

COLOPHONS. The principal colophon begins on fol. 354v. with the usual doxology and continues with a long prayer. Fol. 356v.: '... and now, I, the least of the clerics, and the most unworthy of the children of the church, foolish and ignorant in the art of writing, misnamed Martiros of Hizan, who only have the name and not the deeds, with the grace of God I began and, through His mercy, I completed this divine word, this shining holy Gospel, in the long era of the Armenians, in the year 1045 (= A.D. 1596), in the imperial city of Constantinople'. The end of the colophon is missing.

Fol. 357. In a different hand: 'Remember again the last owner of this holy Gospel, Khodja Khatchatur, who received this from his rightful earnings, in memory of himself



and his children, and of his wife Gayané, and his son Movses, who rests in Christ, and his tender son Avedik, and his daughters resting in Christ, Khan Tatik, and T'aguhi, Zebi, and his parents Hovsep' Gozalaghé(?), Amen. Our Father who art in heaven.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Annunciation.* The angel approaches from the left towards the Virgin who is seated, full face, under interlacing arches and holds the spindle in her left hand. Rays descend on her from the segment of sky; two columns, crowned with pointed domes, are drawn between the Virgin and the angel. Inscription: 'Gabriel announces to the Virgin Mary.'

Fol. 2v. *Nativity.* The Virgin is seated on her couch against a dark blue background, which represents the interior of the cave; next to her is the Christ Child in the manger with the ass, the ox, and a star; facing her, on the left, are the Magi; the first two crowned, bear gifts, the third, young and beardless, points to the star. Above the cave are three angels; below, on the left, Joseph is seated on the ground, under an arched frame; on the right, a shepherd, guarding his sheep, plays the flute. Inscription: 'The birth of Jesus.'

Fol. 3v. *Presentation.* The Virgin, and Joseph, with the two doves, Simeon with the Christ Child in his arms, and Anna, holding a small scroll, stand at the sides of a table with a column in front of it. In the background is a multifoil arch with two small domes at the sides. Inscription: 'The coming to the temple on the fortieth day.'

Fol. 4. *Baptism.* John, nude save for a mantle, baptizes Christ who stands in the water to His waist; fish and a figure, holding a ewer and a crook (the personification of the Jordan), appear in the water. On the right are two angels; above Christ's head the segment of sky and the dove, flying head down. Inscription: 'Baptism of Christ.'

Fol. 5v. *Transfiguration.* Christ stands in an oval mandorla, pointed at the top; Elijah and Moses, beardless and holding a book, stand in separate rectangular frames at the sides; the mountain has not been represented. In the lower part, separated by a narrow band, Peter and James are seated at the sides; John, in the centre, covers his face. Blue rays descend on the apostles from Christ's mandorla. Inscription: 'The Transfiguration of Christ.'

Fol. 6. *Raising of Lazarus.* Pl. 47a. Inscription: 'The Raising of Lazarus.'

Fol. 7v. *Entry into Jerusalem.* Pl. 46a. Inscription: 'It is the Palm Sunday.'

Fol. 8. *Washing of the Feet.* Pl. 46b. Inscription: 'The Washing of the Feet.'

Fol. 16. *Crucifixion.* Christ is nailed to the cross with four nails, the Virgin and St. John stand at the sides. The sun and moon are drawn above the horizontal arms of the cross, and the pelican feeding his young in their nest above the vertical arm; weeping angels appear in the segments of sky, at the angles, and the skull in the hillock under the cross. The background is painted red, yellow, and green. Inscription above the frame: 'In similitude to Christ the pelican pierced his side and revived his young; Christ pierced His side and redeemed us with His blood.'

Fol. 9. *Entombment.* Pl. 47b. Inscription: 'The Burial of the Lord.'

Fol. 10v. *Harrowing of Hell.* Christ, carrying a large cross, walks on the broken gates of Hell (between which may be seen the head of a dragon), and takes Adam by the hand. Behind Adam, Eve and another woman (instead of Abel) raise their veiled hands to their face; on the right David, Solomon, and John the Baptist are seen in

bust. The background behind both groups of figures is painted black and two columns of smoke curl up from the left side. Inscription: 'The Harrowing of Hell.'

Fol. 13v. *Ascension*. Christ is seated in a pointed mandorla borne by two angels who seem to be standing on the rays of light which descend from the mandorla on the Virgin, standing orans under an arch, and on the apostles. Inscription: 'The Ascension of Christ to heaven.'

Fol. 14. *Pentecost*. The apostles are seated, in groups of three in two rows, in a high chamber with interlacing arches. Under the central arch the dove of the Holy Ghost flies head down; the rays of light touch only the two apostles in the centre of the upper row; between these two there is a small table with a chalice. Three men stand in the gate opening into the high wall of the chamber; the one in the centre is crowned. Inscription: 'The Descent of the Holy Ghost.'

Fol. 11. *Last Judgement*. Inside a rectangular frame, the Ancient of Days, holding the open book, is enthroned on the four apocalyptic beasts; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at the sides in the attitude of supplication. The scales hang from the lower band of the frame; an animal-headed demon tries to pull down the right tray with a hook; the left tray rests on the back of another demon. An angel, drawn in bust on the left, pierces both demons with his lance. Inscriptions: above, 'Who saw the Ancient of Days seated on the cherubic throne.' Below: 'The scales, the demons'; next to the left tray: 'these are the mercies'; next to the right tray: 'these are the sins'.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew, Mark, and Luke (foll. 29v., 124v., 188v.), writing, are seated on a carved wooden arm-chair or bench; a second book is placed on the lectern on the desk. In the portrait of Mark the Hand of God projects from the segment of sky in the upper right corner. In the portrait of Luke a ciborium-like construction rises above the lectern, and there are other buildings on the left. Draperies hang from the upper frame or from the buildings. John, standing before a low rocky background, gazes towards the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky and dictates to Prochoros, seated on a stool on the right (fol. 288v.).

In the *Letter of Eusebius* the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius are painted under pointed arches which extend slightly beyond the upper frame of the rectangles; floral scrolls fill the spandrels. The rectangles over the *Canon tables* are also decorated with floral scrolls painted in bright colours on a gold ground; animals are drawn under the central triangle on foll. 15 and 18. Some of the capitals are formed by human or animal heads. A lion(?) holding a candle or demons holding a stick with a red ball at the end are drawn next to some of the Canon tables (foll. 20v., 21, 22v., 23). The *headpieces* are Π -shaped or consist of a wide rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it, and decorated with roundels, floral scrolls, interlacing palmettes, or linear interlaces, with three-lobed leaves drawn in the free spaces.

Large ornaments of interlacing palmettes, crowned with a cross, fill the side margin of the first page of each Gospel; smaller floral interlaces, birds, and sirens, slightly tinted in red and occasionally blue, are drawn next to the pericopes. These ornaments are replaced by other motifs or figures when required by the text: trees (foll. 89, 91, 159v., 161, 262, 327, 335; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29; Jn. xii. 12, xv. 1); temples (foll. 100v., 167, 267v.; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 7); crosses (foll.



112v., 114v., 275v., 346v.; Mt. xxvi. 57, xxviii. 1; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xix. 7); three fishes (fol. 351v., Jn. xxi. 1); a holy woman (fol. 119v., Mt. xxviii. 1); the head of John the Baptist on a platter (fol. 141, Mk. vi. 14); the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation (fol. 191 and 192, Lk. i. 26, 39); a demon (fol. 234, Lk. xi. 14); a blind man (fol. 259v., Lk. xviii. 35) and Joseph of Arimathea (fol. 180, 279v., 348v.; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 50; Jn. xix. 38).

REMARKS. The scribe Martiros, a native of Khizan, belonged to a family of painters who worked in this city during the latter part of the 16th and in the beginning of the 17th century and illustrated numerous manuscripts, many of which have been preserved. Martiros and his brother Sargis were trained by their father, also named Sargis, and they in turn trained their sons and several pupils some of whom emigrated at the time of the forced exodus of the population by Shah Abbas, and worked at New Julfa and in other cities.¹

Judging from the manuscripts illustrated separately by various members of this scriptorium, Martiros was the most skilled among them; his drawing is more sure and the deep colours produce a rich decorative effect. Gold is used for the backgrounds of the Canon tables, headpieces, and the portraits of the Evangelists; in the Gospel scenes it is usually replaced by different colours. The earliest work of Martiros known so far is a *Gandzaran*, or collection of religious poems, written partly at Khlat' (or Akhlat), north of Lake Van, partly at the monastery of T'eghvoy Vank', which he illustrated in 1575 with full-page miniatures of the principal scenes of the life of Christ, and numerous portraits of saints painted in the margins (Jerusalem, no. 135). In the brief colophon written under the first miniature the painter Martiros does not give the names of his parents, but the style of the paintings leaves no doubt as to his identity. In 1577-9 Martiros was at Khizan, and illustrated a Gospel which is his most ambitious work; it has twenty-nine full-page compositions in addition to the portraits of the Evangelists, and sixty-eight marginal miniatures (Jerusalem, no. 2569). In 1590 he was in Jerusalem; a cross-stone which he ordered to be carved in memory of his visit may be seen in the Armenian monastery of St. James;² he was still there the following year, and he copied the greater part of a large Menologium which was illustrated by Khatchatur, another artist from Khizan (Jerusalem, no. 1920). We find him again at Khizan in 1594, working with his brother Sargis and his son Grigoris on the copy and illustration of a Bible.³ Martiros kept his connexions with Jerusalem; the patriarch David who had commissioned him to copy a Menologium in 1591, ordered, in 1596, a copy of selected books of the Old Testament (Jerusalem, no. 397). This work was done at Khizan by Martiros, his brother and his son. We learn from the colophon that Martiros wrote only the first two quires; this should no doubt be

¹ In addition to the manuscripts studied by G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, pp. 8-27, and to the works of Mesrop of Khizan and Sargis of Mok's listed in connexion with Codices nos. 576 and 592, several other manuscripts copied and illustrated by the various members of this scriptorium may be mentioned: Jerusalem, no. 1944, Gospel, A.D. 1589 by the scribe Zak'ar; Hymnals of A.D. 1601 and 1602 by Sargis, brother of Martiros (Jerusalem, nos. 1663 and 1460), and Gospels of A.D. 1604, 1608, and 1610 by

the same (Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, ii. 266; Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 823-30 and 837-40); Gospel of A.D. 1611 by the scribe Zak'aria (Jerusalem, no. 1938); Bible of A.D. 1624 and Hymnal of A.D. 1629 by the scribe Kirakos (Jerusalem, nos. 2560 and 2358).

² M. Aghavnuni, *Monks and Visitors of Armenian Jerusalem* (in Armenian), Jerusalem, 1929, p. 266.

³ Manuscript of the monastery of Amrtolu: Srvandztian, op. cit., ii. 262-4.



explained by the fact that he left Khizan that same year, since our Codex no. 573, written in Constantinople, is also dated 1596. It is unfortunate that the end of the colophon is missing for it may have contained interesting particulars about his visit.¹ We have no definite information about him for a few years; he may have spent some time at Sebastia or Zeitun, for the scribes of Codex 617 of this Collection thank Martiros for teaching them the art of painting and of laying the gold.² By 1602 Martiros was already in Khizan where, assisted by his brother and his son, he completed and illustrated a collection of the works of Gregory of Tat'ev which had been begun in Sebastia (Jerusalem, no. 420). The three scribes collaborated again in 1604 for the copy and illustrations of a large Menologium in two volumes,³ and in 1605 Martiros copied a Gospel which is now lost.⁴ He must have died shortly after this date, for in a collection of sermons written in 1609 the scribe Grigor begs the readers to remember in their prayers his late master, Martiros of Khizan (Jerusalem, no. 840).

The traditions of the Khizan school appear in one of his earliest works, the Gospel of A.D. 1577-9 (Jerusalem, no. 2569). We find in this manuscript the characteristic compositions of the Marriage at Cana, the Healing of the Paralytic, Christ walking on the Waters, and several scenes of Paradise and Hell.⁵ Some of the marginal miniatures copy the vignettes of a manuscript illustrated by an artist from Khizan in 1414 (Jerusalem, no. 2663); other representations in this eclectic work are derived from Cilician Gospels of the late 12th and 13th centuries,⁶ others again follow the models of the Van school.

The influence of the Van school prevails in the later works of Martiros, as may be seen from the selection of scenes as well as the style and iconography of the miniatures in the present manuscript. The Entombment (Pl. 47b) and the Last Judgement conform to the iconographic formulae of the Van school, the pelican feeding his young is represented above the Crucifixion, and even such details as the three men above the tomb of Lazarus, one of whom stretches his hand from under the architrave, repeat the peculiar traits of the Van school (Pl. 47a).⁷ There are marked similarities between the illustrations of our manuscript and those of a Gospel written at Aght'amar in A.D. 1497 (Bodleian, Arm. e. 1), and especially those of a Gospel written at Khlat', north of Lake Van, in 1542 (Brit. Mus., Or. 2707); these similarities acquire special significance when we recall that in 1575 Martiros illustrated a manuscript which had been partly written at Khlat' (Jerusalem, no. 135).

The anthropomorphic letters of our manuscript also occur in other works of this period; they differ from the elegant designs of the Cilician artists and recall the lively types used in the fourteenth century by T'oros of Taron.⁸

¹ These pages were already missing in 1900 when our manuscript was in the Sanasarian school at Erzerum. See H. Adjarian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Sanassarian Institutes zu Erzerum*, Vienna, 1900, no. 15, pp. vii and 16-17. A short notice affixed to the manuscript stated that it had been presented to the library of this school in 1886.

² See also Aleppo, no. 38: Surméyan, *Catalogue*, i. 81.

³ New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 42: G.

Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, pp. 11-14, fig. 4.

⁴ Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 819-20, formerly in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Van.

⁵ See Introduction, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

⁶ See Introduction, p. xxxix.

⁷ For instance Boston Library, no. 1327, A.D. 1475 (S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, p. 8); Paris, Arm. 18, A.D. 1456 (F. Macler, *Miniatures*, pl. xvi, fig. 34).

⁸ G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, ii, figs. 214, 217.



Martiros was the recognized master of the Khizan school in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. His compositions were frequently imitated by his pupils; for instance a Gospel illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan in A.D. 1608 (Brit. Mus., Or. 5737), and another illustrated by Zak'aria A.D. 1611 (Jerusalem, no 1938) are almost exact replicas of our Codex no. 573.¹

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-10, Full-page miniatures; foll. 11v.-12, Headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 12v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 13-99v., Gospel of Matthew; fol. 100, Preface of the Gospel of Matthew; foll. 101v.-102, Headings of the Gospel of Mark; foll. 103-58, Gospel of Mark; foll. 158v.-162, Prefaces of Mark and Luke and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 162v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 163-251, Gospel of Luke; foll. 251-3v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 254v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 255-308v., Gospel of John.

Lacunae. Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables; one leaf after each of the following folios: 12 (Mt. i. 1-18), 90 (Mt. xxvi. 40-51), 102 (Portrait of Mark), 229 (Lk. xix. 14-29); two leaves after fol. 298 (Jn. xiii. 15-xiv. 3); several leaves after fol. 308 (Jn. xviii. 16 to end). Foll. 100v. and 101 are left blank, but no text is missing (see Colophon).

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18 × 12.5 cm.; written surface 13 × 8.5 cm.; 2 columns of 20 lines each. 309 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. White vellum. *Bolorgir* in black ink, damaged in places. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the second line in blue *erkat'agir*; the initials of the verses and the words 'Lord, God, Holy, &c.' are in gold letters. A narrow gold band drawn between two lines frames each column of text; these frames are joined to one another by means of a small trefoil arch above, and a straight line below.

BINDING. Dark brown leather on boards, with flap; blind-tooled. Front cover: a cross on three steps with twisted cord motif. Two rayed segments in upper corners; cord border (Pl. 63b). End cover: rectangular panel and frame of interlaced design; small round and oval stamps. Flaps: rectangular panel with twisted cord design.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century; written by the cleric Poghos.

COLOPHON. Fol. 100v., lower margin, 'O, reader, this quire is empty(?). The reason

¹ The cycle of miniatures existed previously, as stated above, and we find identical compositions in a manuscript illustrated in A.D. 1578 near Kharberd by the bishop Hohannes (Jerusalem, no. 3243), but it

was probably through the copies made by Martiros and his assistants that these compositions were transmitted to the younger members of the Khizan school.



is that the headings of Mark had been decorated beforehand and this was added. O reader, remember the sinful cleric Poghos, who am the scribe of this Gospel.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Foll. 1v.-2. *Marriage at Cana.* On folio 1v., Christ, the Virgin, and a young apostle stand next to a table in front of an architectural setting. On the other side of the table a crowned, elderly man, kneeling down, holds a gold pitcher in one hand and offers a cup to Christ; a bearded, nimbed man and a young boy stand behind him. A large, chalice-shaped dish containing viands and gold ewers are placed under arches in the lower half of the page. Inscription: 'He came to Cana of Galilee and turned the water into wine.' On folio 2 the bearded nimbed man is seated next to a ciborium, he holds a large cross and turns towards the crowned bridegroom seated on the right. In the lower half of the page are represented a musician and two men, drinking, seated on the ground; a bowl of fruit is placed in front of them. A narrow, arched band separates this group from the servant who pours water out of a gold pitcher into six ewers. Inscription: 'The ruler of the feast, having drunk the wine, rejoiced with the bridegroom.'

Fol. 3. *Betrayal.* Judas approaches from the right and embraces Christ without kissing Him; his face has been erased. Six helmeted soldiers, carrying swords, lances, and torches, stand at the sides. Inscription: 'The Lord of all is seized willingly and carried to the house of Caiaphas.'

Fol. 4v. *Christ before Pilate.* Pilate is seated on the left and washes his hands; two men in pointed caps stand behind the throne, and, before Pilate, a servant holding the basin, and a Jew, who pours the water. Christ is nude save for a mantle thrown over his shoulders. Five soldiers stand behind Christ. Buildings, some with conical roofs, fill the background. Inscription: 'Christ left the house of Caiaphas and stood in the tribunal of Pilate.'

Fol. 5. *Mourning over the Body of Christ.* The nude body of Christ is stretched on the ground; Joseph of Arimathea wraps His feet in the shroud, Nicodemus holds His hands. Behind them stand the Virgin, erect and hands clasped, Mary Magdalene, and John weeping. A large cross is raised in the background between two buildings with conical roofs. Inscription: 'Covering the nakedness of Him who was begotten by the Father before time, Saint Joseph of Arimathea shrouded Him.'

Fol. 6v. *Ascension.* Christ is seated in a starry mandorla, which is surrounded with clouds and held by two kneeling angels. Below, the Virgin, orans, and the apostles stand in front of two mountains. Inscription: 'Having taken His disciples to the Mount of Olives, blessing them, He rose up to heaven.'

Fol. 7. *Last Judgement.* In the upper part, Christ, nude, with a purple mantle over his knees, is seated on the arc of heaven, in the innermost of four concentric circles studded with stars; large rays radiate from His nimb. The Virgin and a young apostle (John?), John the Baptist and an older apostle (Peter?) kneel at the sides. A wide, red, plaited band separates this group from the weighing of the souls in the lower part. In the centre hang the scales; the left tray rests on the back of a demon, another demon tries to pull down the right tray. Nude figures are crowded on the left side and preceded by an angel who, with his long lance, pierces the demons and the dark, nude figures represented on the extreme right. Inscriptions: above the frame,

'The day of judgement, fearful to see, at Gethsemane(?) in the valley of Asilin' (the Kidron?); under the frame: 'The scales placed in the middle of the tribunal for there the justice of the Lord will be revealed'; under the red plaited band: 'This is the fiery river.'

Fol. 8v. *Paradise and Hell*. Pl. 48a. Inscriptions: above, 'The place filled with the souls of the righteous after the Judgement'; below, 'The sinful souls in tartarus are devoured by fiery and sleepless worms.'

Fol. 9. *Dives and Lazarus*. In the upper part Abraham is seated, with Lazarus in his lap, holding two small branches; two angels stand before them. In the lower part, separated by a narrow band, the rich man lies in the fire which is being stoked by demons, serpents are coiled around his body; in the right corner, a demon seizes a nude man and throws him into the fire. Black background for the lower half. Inscriptions: above, 'The angels having carried the soul of Lazarus, placed him in the bosom of the great Abraham'; below, 'The rich man, having fallen into the innermost hell, burned and roasted as in a pan.'

Fol. 10. *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*. Pl. 48b. Inscriptions: above, 'The wise virgins prepared their lamps and entered paradise'; below, 'While the foolish virgins blew out the lamps, because of this they remained outside paradise.'

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 12v.) is seated writing before a desk on which is a lectern with another book placed under a ciborium; behind him are buildings connected with a drapery which also hangs over the ciborium; above him the segment of sky with the bust figure of the beardless Christ, blessing. The rectangular frame is set in an octagon, which, in turn, is set in an oval frame. Luke (fol. 162v.) is seated, writing, before a desk on which is a tall lectern with an open book. In the upper part of the miniature, separated by a narrow band, may be seen a throne, with the veil and cross, framed by three concentric circles, and at the sides of the throne two tetramorphs, each one holding a fan with the inscription: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord almighty.' John (fol. 254v.) dictates to Prochoros, seated on the left, in front of a turreted wall. In the upper part of the miniature, separated by a narrow band, a medallion frames the bust of the Ancient of Days holding a globe with a cross; two stars are drawn in the medallion and two adoring angels stand at the sides.

A large number of small figures or vignettes are painted in the margins, at the beginning of the pericopes. In the *Gospel of Matthew*: fol. 13, Ancestors of Christ; eight busts of men in the meanders of a scroll (i. 8-15); fol. 13v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 14v., the three Magi (ii. 1); fol. 16v., John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 19, Christ (iv. 12); fol. 20v., Christ, seated (v. 1); fol. 27v., two nimbed men, standing (vii. 1); fol. 33, Matthew kneeling (ix. 9); fol. 34, Christ and Jairus (ix. 18); fol. 34v., two blind men, seated (ix. 27); fol. 42, an apostle in the cornfield, partly effaced (xii. 1); fol. 43v., Christ healing the blind and dumb man (xii. 22); fol. 50v., John the Baptist (xiv. 1); fol. 52v., Stilling of the tempest (xiv. 22); fol. 55, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 55v., Christ, seated (xv. 29); fol. 69v., tree (xx. 29); fol. 71v., fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 73, the man who had planted a vineyard (xxi. 33); fol. 80, temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 91, cross (xxvi. 57); fol. 93, cross (xxvii. 1); fol. 97, Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57); fol. 98, the angel at the sepulchre (xxviii. 1).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 104, John the Baptist, kneeling (i. 14); fol. 107v., Matthew,



kneeling (ii. 13); fol. 108v., an apostle in the cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 110v., Christ in the mountain (iii. 13); fol. 119, John the Baptist (vi. 14); fol. 126v., Apostles in a boat (viii. 10); fol. 136v., the blind man (x. 46); fol. 138, fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 141v., two Sadducees (xii. 18); fol. 152v., cross (xv. 1); fol. 156, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: fol. 164v.-165, Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 166, Virgin (i. 39); fol. 168v., Joseph (ii. 1); fol. 169, shepherd, playing the flute, and three sheep grazing (ii. 8); fol. 170, Circumcision; the high priest holds Jesus in his arms and a knife in his right hand (ii. 21); fol. 174, Ancestors of Christ, seven men, in bust, in the meanders of a scroll, above them Christ blessing (iii. 23); fol. 174v., Ancestors of Christ, same composition, but eight men and no Christ (iii. 26-33); fol. 175a, Ancestors of Christ, two volutes with busts; below, a nude man (Adam) kneeling (iii. 33-38); fol. 175b, Temptation (iv. 2); fol. 179v., Christ healing the leper (v. 12); fol. 181, Matthew kneeling (v. 27); fol. 183, Christ, praying (vi. 12); fol. 199, Christ and a man (ix. 37); fol. 204, Christ praying (xi. 1); fol. 205, Christ healing the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 211v., a ram (xii. 32); fol. 213, flames rising out of a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 228v., the blind man, seated (xviii. 35); fol. 235, temple (xxi. 5); fol. 246v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50); fol. 249v., Christ and the disciples on the way to Emmaus (xxiv. 32).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 257, Christ in Baptism scene (i. 35); fol. 259, Marriage at Cana, a servant pours water into a jug (ii. 1); fol. 261v., Moses raising the serpent on the cross (iii. 14); fol. 268, a veiled woman bends over a boy, both are nimbed (v. 1); fol. 284, the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 287v., the good shepherd (x. 11); fol. 288v., temple (x. 22); fol. 290, Lazarus, in bed, next to him Martha and Mary (xi. 1); fol. 294v., palm-tree (xii. 12).

The *headpieces* are Π -shaped or consist of wide rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with the usual floral scrolls, or with squares and lozenges framing three lobed leaves. Confronted lions appear above the headpiece of Mark, and a crouching ox above that of Luke. The backgrounds are always gold, and gold is used again as a background for the marginal ornaments of carefully drawn floral interlaces.

REMARKS. A number of important scenes, always included in the Gospel cycle, are now lacking and were probably lost at the same time as the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables. The Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation, Baptism, and Transfiguration must have preceded the Marriage at Cana, now on foll. 1v.-2; and some, if not all, of the following scenes—Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper or Washing of the Feet, Crucifixion, Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Harrowing of Hell, and Pentecost—were no doubt represented on the folios which intervened between the surviving full-page illustrations.

Several compositions suggest definite connexions with the school of Khizan. The two miniatures of the Marriage at Cana were probably copied from a single image of a larger size, where the servant pouring the water into the jugs was not separated from the representation of the miracle, as it is here. Such a composition may be seen in the Gospel no. 11 of the Kevorkian Collection illustrated in 1621 at Khizan,¹ and in a Gospel of the year 1640-3 from the village of Avendants (Jerusalem, no. 2670). In

¹ G. Hovsepian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, fig. 9.

both manuscripts the page is divided into three horizontal bands and the groups represented in each band exactly correspond to those of our manuscript; the servant pouring the water is in the lowest register.

The image of Christ and the apostles in Paradise (Pl. 48a) had already been represented in the 15th century by the artists of Khizan or its vicinity, as can be seen from the miniature of Codex no. 565 but the composition, with the archangel sounding the horn, and the monsters swallowing the dead, is closer to the miniatures of the two Gospels just mentioned: Kevorkian no. 11,¹ and Jerusalem no. 2670. In the present case, however, our painter has given a more correct interpretation, for the Virgin and the apostles are all above the line which separates Paradise from the region of the dead, while in the two other examples some of the blessed appear below this line, immediately above the dead.

The representation of Dives and Lazarus repeats, in its main lines, the traditional composition of the Khizan school; the additional figures of the demons stoking the fire may be seen in the Gospels of Jerusalem nos. 2663 and 2569 (A.D. 1414 and 1577-9), and in several manuscripts of the 17th century such as: Jerusalem nos. 1663 and 2670 (A.D. 1601 and 1640-3), and Kevorkian no. 11.² The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins also follows the Khizan type (Pl. 48b), and the Wise Virgins wear the same type of crown as the Virgins in the 17th-century manuscripts just mentioned. This parable, which immediately follows the image of Dives and Lazarus, forms a pendant to it, each miniature recalling the rewards of the righteous and the punishment of the sinners.

Among the examples of similarities between our manuscript and those written at Khizan during the 17th century, we should also mention the throne between two tetramorphs represented above the portrait of Luke (fol. 162v.) and the Ancient of Days between two archangels above the group of John and Prochoros (fol. 254v.). Images of Christ sometimes accompany the portraits of the Evangelists in Byzantine manuscripts. In the 11th-century manuscript, Paris, Gr. 74, the Ancient of Days is represented above Matthew, Christ above Mark and Luke, and under the portrait of John there are three roundels with the images of Christ, the Ancient of Days, and Christ Emmanuel.³ In several Gospels of the 13th century images of Christ or Christ Emmanuel are introduced into the headpieces.⁴ In Armenian art the earliest example appears in a Gospel of the late 12th or early 13th century; the Ancient of Days is represented above the group of John and Prochoros.⁵ There are very few other examples until the 17th century when we find a regular scheme in the manuscripts of the Khizan school: Christ Emmanuel above the portrait of Mark; the throne between the seraphim above the portrait of Luke; the Ancient of Days above the portraits of John and Prochoros.⁶

¹ G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, fig. 12.

² Ibid., fig. 12.

³ H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1908, pls. 1, 57, 92, 142.

⁴ E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, Chicago, 1936, vol. ii, 108-10, pls. x-xi, xlv, lxvii, cxv. In a Gospel of the 13th century the enthroned Christ with the four symbols

of the Evangelists projecting from the mandorla has been represented above the portrait of Matthew, Leningrad, Public Library, Gr. 101: V. Lazarev, *Istoriia*, ii, pl. 257.

⁵ Venice, no. 888/159: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 95-96 and pl. xxxvi, fig. 73.

⁶ New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11; Jerusalem, nos. 2560 and 2670. In the Gospel of Boston,

The Mourning over the body of Christ takes the place of the Entombment, as in the earlier manuscripts of Khizan, but the large cross raised in the background allies the composition with the examples of the 17th century.¹

Some of the less common iconographic elements occur in manuscripts illustrated during the 17th century in different Armenian centres, and they are ultimately derived from European models. In the Judgement of Pilate Christ is nude save for a mantle thrown around his shoulders; this iconographic variant may be seen in two Gospels illustrated at Ispahan in 1635² and in 1643-4 (Jerusalem, no. 2587), as well as in a manuscript illustrated in Constantinople in 1648 (Jerusalem, no. 2607). In the Last Judgement Christ, nude to the waist, is seated on the arc of heaven; concentric circles are drawn around Him and large rays radiate from His nimb. A close parallel to this type may be seen in a Bible illustrated at Amida between the years 1622 and 1631 (Jerusalem, no. 2559, fol. 429).

While certain elements of the illustration are common to the 17th-century manuscripts in general, others belong specifically to the Khizan School and suggest that our manuscript was illustrated in that region, or under the influence of that school. But the short proportions of the figures and their awkward poses, the treatment of the draperies where the folds do not form geometric patterns, finally the facial types show a slightly different artistic tradition from that of the Khizan school strictly speaking. Some of these traits appear in a manuscript illustrated in the village of Avendants, in the neighbouring region of Khizan (Jerusalem, no. 2618, A.D. 1669).

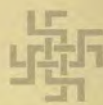
The marginal miniatures represent, for the most part, the miracles, though the parables and various episodes of the life of Christ have also been illustrated. The compositions are greatly simplified, following the practice of the 17th century. For instance, one shepherd playing the flute with three small sheep at his feet suggests the Annunciation to the shepherds (fol. 169); for the Circumcision the painter has figured the high priest carrying the Christ Child on his left arm and holding a large knife in his right hand (fol. 170); Christ stands alone in the miniature illustrating the Baptism (fol. 257); when Christ and His disciples go into the parts of Dalmanutha there are only three apostles in the small sailboat (fol. 126v.). As in other manuscripts of the 17th century the bust figures of the ancestors of Christ are drawn in floral scrolls which fill the margins of the corresponding pages of Matthew and Luke (foll. 13, 174-5), and only the nude figure of Adam, kneeling, is represented in full, outside the scroll (fol. 175a).

no. 1327, Christ Emmanuel is represented above the portrait of Matthew: S. Der Nersessian, *An Armenian Gospel*, fig. 9.

¹ A. Baumstark, 'Eine Gruppe illustrierter armenischer Evangelienbücher des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts in Jerusalem', *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, IV (1911), 256, pl. 54, fig. 2; British Museum, Or. 5449, A.D. 1683 (and not A.D. 1582 as in

Conybeare, *Catalogue*, p. 36); Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, fig. 121; Jerusalem, nos. 2350, 2559, 2587, 2618; Aleppo, no. 1, A.D. 1632. The cross is also represented in late Byzantine paintings: Millet, *Iconographie*, figs. 548, 558, 560-62.

² Leiden, Or. 5515: Macler, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Belgique*, p. 132.



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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

16TH-17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Three paper leaves, measuring 21.5 × 15.5 cm.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. 1 (a) *Pilate and Christ.* Pilate is enthroned, on the left, opposite him a soldier holds an ewer but does not pour the water over Pilate's hands. To the right another soldier, carrying an axe, speaks to Christ who stands on a footstool with a border made of small circles; a narrow frame, with the same design, goes partly around the figure of Christ. Blue background. Inscriptions: 'Pilate washes his hands and says: "I am innocent of his blood"'; 'the soldier questions and says: "Art thou Christ, the Son of God?" Christ says, "Thou sayest".'

(b) *Carrying of the Cross.* Two men, in short tunics, walk to the left, each one carrying a wooden board on his shoulders; their feet come below the frame of the miniature. Inscription: 'Placing the wood of the cross on their shoulders, the wicked soldiers carried it.'

2. *Entombment.* Two men in short-sleeved tunics and tight-fitting trousers stand facing one another and carry the shrouded body of Christ; a woman stands behind each man. A large cross, flanked by two candelabras with chalice-shaped tops, fills the entire height of the miniature; in the upper corners are two flying angels. Blue background. Inscriptions: above the frame, 'the angel of God'; to the left of the frame, 'Mary', 'Joseph'; under the frame, 'the burial of Christ'.

3. *Last Judgement.* Christ is enthroned on the four symbolic beasts, His feet resting on a richly decorated semicircular cushion; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at His sides in the attitude of prayer. Twelve nimbed men, in bust, are represented below, in two rows, each one in a separate rectangular frame. The scales hang from the centre of the lower frame; the left tray rests on the back of a demon, a second demon tries to pull down the right tray, a third demon with a load on his back stands between them. Two angels, one on either side, pierce the demons with lances. Blue background. Inscriptions: above the frame, 'Mary, Theotokos; God the Father, John the Evangelist'; below, 'the Angel', 'the apostles judge', 'the judgement'; farther down, 'the scales', 'the demon carries the sins on his back'.

REMARKS. These miniatures were previously in the Sevadjan Collection, no. 19, and have been reproduced by F. Macler in his *Documents d'art arménien*, Paris, 1924, pls. xxvii-xxviii, figs. 59-61. Macler assigned them to the 12th or 14th century; this date is far too early, for neither the iconography of the Last Judgement nor certain details of the costumes appear in dated manuscripts of that period, and these miniatures cannot be earlier than the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century.

The colours are rich, mostly red, purple, green, and blue. Blue is used for all the backgrounds. The figures are highly stylized and coarsely drawn, with heavy outlines.



The Entombment and the Last Judgement follow the iconographic types used in the 'Van school', beginning with the 15th century, adopted by the Khizan school of the late 16th and 17th centuries as well as by other artists of the late period.¹ The composition of Pilate washing his hands and the soldiers questioning Christ belongs, however, to the earlier tradition of Khizan. The Gospel of Paris, Arm. 333 of A.D. 1335 gives us one of the earliest examples; this composition may also be seen in several manuscripts of the 15th century, such as Codex no. 566 (fol. 7) and Aleppo, no. 44, and in the 17th century in Codex no. 574 (fol. 4v.). Jesus sometimes stands alone with tied hands, at other times a soldier raises his whip or his hand to slap Christ's face.

In all these manuscripts the other scene represented on the same page is sometimes the Betrayal, sometimes Judas returning the thirty pieces of silver.² The two men carrying wooden boards, designated by the inscription as the 'wicked soldiers', differ also in type from other examples. In the rare instances where the carrying of the cross is represented we either see Christ Himself carrying the cross or Simon of Cyrene with the cross on his shoulders.³

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

DATED A.D. 1615

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Two leaves measuring 23.2 × 17.7 cm.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written at Ispahan in 1615 by Hayrapet and illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan for Martiros. See 'Remarks'.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. 1. *The Holy Women at the Sepulchre.* Pl. 51b. Inscriptions: 'The shining angel and the women bringing the anointment and the incense'; 'the guards'.

2. *Christ in Glory.* Pl. 51a. Inscriptions: 'The cross of the Lord who comes for judgement and the trumpets of Gabriel sound.' Over the kneeling figures, on the left,

¹ See p. xxxiv and Pls. 47b, 54b.

² Paris, arm. 333, A.D. 1335: Pilate washing his hands and a soldier slapping Christ; below, Judas returning the money to the high priests. Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 754, A.D. 1402 and 1417: Pilate washing his hands and the Flagellation represented under the Betrayal (Nykolskaia, op. cit., pp. 39 and 42). Chester Beatty Collection, no. 565, A.D. 1439, fol. 5v., Pilate washing his hands represented under the Betrayal. New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 10, A.D. 1435, Pilate washing his hands and a soldier slapping Christ; below, Judas returning the money. Berlin, Or. Minut. 291, A.D. 1450, and Walters Art Gallery, no. 543, A.D. 1455, same composition as in Chester Beatty, no. 566: Pilate washing his hands, Christ alone; below, Judas returning the money.

³ In the Gospel of the Kevorkian Collection, no. 11, illustrated in 1621 at Khizan, Christ carrying the cross

is represented under the scene of Jesus appearing before Herod. In a Gospel illustrated at Erzerum in 1587 (Paris, Collection Louis Cartier) in the same miniature as the denial of Peter we see Christ and a man facing one another, each one carrying a wooden board on his shoulder. Christ carrying the cross is represented in a separate miniature in a Gospel illustrated in 1661 by Mkrtitch of Tokat (Paris, Margosian-Esmérian Collection, no. 9, fol. 11v.); and in other manuscripts of the 17th century, cf. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl. XLVII, fig. 114, pl. LV, fig. 148, and id., *Documents*, pl. XXIII, fig. 51. Simon of Cyrene carrying the cross is represented in Codex no. 584, fol. 11v., and in a Gospel written at Constantinople in 1650, Jerusalem, no. 3435, formerly Sevadjian, no. 3; cf. Macler, *Documents*, pl. LXXXVII, fig. 202.

'My parents, Khumarmam, Omet'; on the right, 'the owner, Martiros, the husband of Mariam'.

REMARKS. These two leaves belong to a Gospel formerly in the collection of Jacques de Morgan, in Paris, copied in 1615 at Ispahan by the scribe Hayrapet and illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan. The manuscript has been described and all the miniatures reproduced by F. Macler.¹ Five other leaves are now in the collection of Mr. J. Pozzi in Paris;² the fate of the remaining part of the manuscript is not known.

Several manuscripts illustrated in part, or fully, by Mesrop have survived, and we learn from the colophons that he was a pupil of Martiros of Khizan and of Sargis of Mok's, surnamed Mazman, whose works are represented in this collection by the manuscripts nos. 573 and 592. The earliest mention of his name occurs in a Gospel illustrated at Khizan in 1605 by Grigoris, the son of his teacher Martiros; Mesrop was one of the assistants.³ Shortly after this date we find him at Ispahan, where in 1608 and 1609 he illustrated the two Gospels now in the British Museum, Or. 5737, and at Oxford, Bodleian Arm. d. 13.⁴ Mesrop's departure from Khizan should, no doubt, be connected with the forced transportation of the Armenians by Shah Abbas, following his victory over the Turkish armies in 1604. The exodus is recalled in the Oxford manuscript just mentioned. 'Mourning fell upon Armenia, for he (Shah Abbas) destroyed and made desolate all houses and habitations, so that men fled and hid themselves in fortresses and clefts of rocks. Some he found and slew, others he led captive and sent to that city of Shosh or Aspahan. . . . And he settled us on the south side of the river Zandar . . . where we built houses and habitations and churches for our prayers.'⁵

Mesrop continued to work at Ispahan. In 1615 he illustrated the Gospel to which these two leaves belong. In 1618 he illustrated a Psalter⁶ and he rebound a Gospel which had been illustrated in 1214 in Great Armenia by the painter Ignatios.⁷ That same year he restored a New Testament written in 1280 at Sis, the capital of Cilicia, and he added the portraits of the Evangelists and those of the authors of the Acts and Epistles.⁸ In 1627 he copied and illustrated a Gospel for Azat khat'un, the daughter of

¹ F. Macler, *Notices de manuscrits arméniens vus dans quelques bibliothèques de l'Europe centrale*. Paris, 1913, pp. 141-9. Id., *Miniatures arméniennes*, pls. xxxiii-xliv. The two leaves with the Holy Women at the Sepulchre and Christ in glory are reproduced on pls. xxxviii and xl.

² These miniatures represent the Annunciation, Nativity, Washing of the Feet, Ascension, and Pentecost (Macler, op. cit., pls. xxxiii, xxxv, xxxix).

³ G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, pp. 20-21, figs. 13-14. In 1904 this Gospel was still in Armenia, in the province of Goght'an (*Azgagrakan Handes*, 1904, p. 159); it belonged later to Mr. Baroyrian of New York and is now in the collection of Mr. H. Kurdian of Wichita, Kansas.

⁴ F. C. Conybeare, *Catalogue*, pp. 42-44. S. Baronian and F. C. Conybeare, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1918, cols. 107-12. The painter has written his name under

the miniature on fol. 23v. ' . . . and the sinful painter Mesrop'. His teachers are mentioned on fol. 311 in a note which is incomplete at the beginning: ' . . . the master whose surname is Mazman and the other famed master, Ter Martiros, and his son, the master Ter Grigoris and all workers'.

⁵ Baronian and Conybeare, *Catalogue*, cols. 110 and 112.

⁶ Aleppo, Church of the Forty Martyrs, no. 55, written by Sargis *abegha*. The name of the painter, Mesrop, is written in the headpiece on p. 370, and though neither his parents nor his teachers are mentioned there can be no doubt that he is the painter Mesrop of Khizan. A. Surmeyan, *Catalogue*, vol. i, pp. 119-20.

⁷ Venice, no. 151: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, p. 174.

⁸ British Museum Add. 18549; Conybeare, *Catalogue*, pp. 11-14.



Khodja Khatchik, one of the Armenian notables of New Julfa.¹ In 1629 he illustrated a Gospel which had been written in 1625 at the monastery of Tat'ev, in Great Armenia (Jerusalem, no. 2348). A few years later, in 1634, he bound and renovated a Gospel which had been written in 1495,² and in 1637 he illustrated a Gospel copied by the scribe Grigor (Jerusalem, no. 2617). This is the finest of all his works. In 1649 he illustrated a Gospel, with the assistance of his pupils,³ and his name appears for the last time in a Gospel written in 1651.⁴

The compositions used in the scriptorium of Martiros of Khizan appear frequently in the manuscripts illuminated by Mesrop, even after he had left his native city. In his Gospel of the year 1608 (Brit. Mus. Or. 5737), he repeats many of the representations in Codex no. 573 of this collection; the portraits of the Evangelists and the initial pages of the four Gospels in the British Museum and Oxford manuscripts are derived from the miniatures of the Gospel written by Grigoris in 1605, and which Mesrop had helped to illustrate.

The illustrations of the Gospel of A.D. 1615, to which belong the two leaves described above, also conform in style and iconography to the works of the late Khizan school. Mesrop is much less successful when he attempts to imitate European models. Were it not for the signature, the colours, and certain details in the drapery treatment, one would hesitate to recognize the hand of Mesrop in the crude and almost barbarian paintings of the Gospel of the Bodleian, Arm. d. 13, which he illustrated in 1609.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1619-24

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-8, Canon tables; foll. 10-77v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 79-122, Gospel of Mark (without the last verses, xvi. 9-20); fol. 124v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 125-197v., Gospel of Luke; fol. 198v., Portrait of John; foll. 199-253v., Gospel of John; foll. 254-5, Colophons.

In the lower margin of the first page of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John there are two lines of explanation on the symbol of each Evangelist.

Lacunae. Two leaves after fol. 9 with the portrait of Matthew, and Mt. i. 1-8; one leaf after fol. 78 with the portrait of Mark.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 15 × 11 cm.; written surface 10 × 7 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 255 folios plus 10 blank leaves at the beginning and 5 at the end.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper. Small *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel

¹ New Julfa, no. 459; G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, p. 27; H. Kurdian, 'Khodja Nazar of Julfa and his Family' (in Armenian), *Hairenik Bimonthly*, Boston, xxi. 4 (1943), 74.

² *Etchmiadzin*, 1951, Jan.-Febr., pp. 82-3.

³ 'Manuscripts in Bagdad', *Handes Amsorya*, iii (1889), 269.

⁴ Vienna, Mekhitharist Library, no. 93: Dashian, *Catalogue*, p. 363.

and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the second and third lines in blue and gold *erkat'agir*, the initials of the verses in red *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, covered with silver-gilt plates with engraved floral designs. In the centre of front cover a crucifix in relief; four peridots studded in the corners. Pl. 64*a*. On the end cover a cross made of one carnelian and four peridots; peridots also at the four corners. No metal back or flap.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1619-24 at Constantinople by Mik'ayel of Tokat for T'amur, Alt'un, and Safar.

COLOPHON. Fol. 254. 'Glory to the most Holy Trinity, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen. This was written in the year 1073 (= A.D. 1624), in the metropolis of Constantinople, by the hand of Mik'ayel of Tokat. Now I beseech you all . . . remember the worthless scribe and my parents . . ., and may God, at His second coming, remember those who remember (us). Amen. Our Father who art in Heaven.'

Fol. 254*v*. 'Glory . . . to the Holy Trinity. . . And now I . . . T'amur, and Alt'un, and my parents Safar, who received from our rightful earnings this holy Gospel as a memorial of myself and of my parents, the pilgrim Alt'un and Safar. I beseech you, . . . remember my parents. . . This holy Gospel was written in the year of the Armenians 1068 (= 1619) during the reign of Sultan Othman and the primacy of the catholicos Ter Melk'iset'. . .'

On fol. 255 there is a brief note by Hmayak vardapet Dimak'sian, who on 10 August 1876 saw this manuscript in the town of Balekeser. A longer note written by the same on fol. 1 explains that in accordance with the instructions of the patriarch Nerses he gave the manuscript to the church of the Theotokos.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Luke (fol. 124*v*.) is seated in an arm-chair, with an open book on his knees, and holds a pen in his left hand; there are two square towers on either side in the background. John (fol. 198*v*.) is seated on a bench, with a tall lectern at one end, and turns his head towards the rays descending from the starry segment of the sky. Gold background.

The rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* are quite narrow and decorated with floral designs, tinted in red, drawn against a blue-green or a yellow background. Next to the rectangle on fol. 7*v*. a lion stands on his hind legs; next to that on fol. 8 there is a monkey holding a candle. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus have not been represented. The *headpieces* are Π -shaped, decorated with simple floral motifs forming a geometric pattern and painted against a gold background. The large marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel are formed by interlacing palmettes in different colours and gold; those of the pericopes have very simple floral designs and are tinted in red and blue. They are occasionally replaced by birds or by motifs connected with the text, such as a tree (fol. 53*v*.), temples (foll. 61*v*., 111, 185*v*.), and a cock (fol. 72).

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists Luke and John, the headpieces, and the large marginal ornaments on the first page of each Gospel, painted in rich colours against a gold background, imitate the style of Cilician illuminations in the 13th century,



The decorations of the Letter of Eusebius and of the Canon tables are much simpler; the designs tinted in red, yellow, and green are drawn against a dark blue background. Contrary to the usual practice the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius have not been represented.

Many artists of this period, especially those who worked in Constantinople and in the cities of Asia Minor, copied Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century. The use of such a model is clearly stated by Mik'ayel of Tokat in the colophon of a Hymnal which he illustrated in Constantinople in 1629. He writes: 'This Hymnal was copied from a good and choice model. For the model was written at the metropolis of Sis, under the shelter of the Holy Cross, in the year 744 (= A.D. 1295), during the rule over the Armenians of Het'um, son of King Levon.'¹

Several other manuscripts copied or illustrated by Mik'ayel at Constantinople have survived: a Hymnal dated 1606;² a Bible dated 1611;³ a Gospel dated 1615 (Jerusalem, no. 3259); the Book of Solomon and the Prophets dated 1618;⁴ two Gospels dated 1619 and 1621, illustrated with the portraits of the Evangelists and headpieces which again imitate the style of the 13th century;⁵ a Gospel dated 1625, illustrated with full-page miniatures placed at the beginning (Jerusalem, no. 2637); a Hymnal dated 1635, illustrated with marginal miniatures representing saints and scenes from the life of Christ;⁶ another Hymnal dated 1638.⁷ A Gospel copied by Mik'ayel in 1609 was illustrated by the priest Ghazar.⁸

Mik'ayel of Tokat was a man of average ability and he is less skilful in his imitation of the Cilician paintings than other painters of his time. The Gospels he has written usually have only the portraits of the Evangelists and simple ornaments.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1655

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-16, Full-page miniatures; foll. 17v.-18, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 19v.-26, Canon tables; foll. 28-30, Headings and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 30v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 31-106v., Gospel of Matthew with preface at the end; foll. 107v.-108v., Headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 109v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 110-62, Gospel of Mark with preface at the end; foll. 162v.-164, Headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 164v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 165-248, Gospel of Luke with preface at the end; fol. 249r. and v., Headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 250v., Colophon; fol. 251v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 252-316v.,

¹ Ephrem Poghosian, 'Armenian Manuscripts in Sofia' (in Armenian), *Handes Amsorya*, xl (1926), 342-3.

² Paris, Arm. 71: F. Macler, *Catalogue*, p. 34.

³ Etchmiadzin, no. 186/158: Brosset, op. cit., p. 33, no. 12.

⁴ New Julfa, no. 256: N. Akinian, *Journal of the Travels of Simeon of Poland* (in Armenian). Vienna, 1936, p. xxiv.

⁵ Gospel of A.D. 1619, Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1480: Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, vol. i, col. 529-32. Gospel of A.D. 1621, Paris, Margossian-Esmérian Collection, no. 23.

⁶ Leiden, Or. 5528: F. Macler, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Belgique . . .*, pp. 157-8.

⁷ Tabriz, no. 39: H. Adjarian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in Täbris*, Vienna, 1910, p. 32.

⁸ Etchmiadzin, 1951, Jan.-Feb., pp. 83-84.



Gospel of John with preface at the end; foll. 317-25, Colophons and symbolical interpretation of the Canon tables. Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17.5 × 13 cm.; written surface, 11.8 × 8.3 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines. 331 + 2 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the second and third lines and the initials of verses are in gold or blue *erkat'agir*. The words God, Christ, Lord, &c., are written in gold. Gold, blue, and red lines, forming a multifoil arch at the top, frame each column of text; the two columns together are inscribed in a rectangle.

BINDING. Blind-tooled brown leather over boards, with flap. On the front cover a tooled cross in cord motif on three steps; on the end cover a circular ornament with a geometric design inside it, and a border of cord motif. Flap with floral scroll and small rosettes.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1655 at Shosh (Ispahan) by Hakob and illuminated by Hayrapet for the priest Grigor.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 317. 'Glory to the . . . Holy Trinity and one Godhead, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and forever and ever, Amen. In the year of the Armenians 1104 (= A.D. 1655), this divine treasure was written.' This is followed by a short passage on the Evangelists and their symbols, and a long rhymed symbolic interpretation of the Canon tables. The colophon is resumed on fol. 321 with the heading: Colophon of the Holy Book. 'May the Lord have mercy on . . . the soul of the owner . . . Ter Grigor, native of Khoshap, son of the other Grigor who rests in heaven, and on his mother Khanagh and his brothers . . .' (a list of all the relatives follows on foll. 321v. to 322v.). Foll. 322v.-324 '(This was written) in the year of the Armenians 1104 (= A.D. 1655) . . . during the catholicosate of (the name is rubbed out) and of the learned vardapet Ter David, in the town of Shosh (Armenian name of Ispahan) in the village called T'oroskan under the protection of Saint Gregory our Illuminator, by the hand of the unworthy *depir* Hakob. May he, his parents, and all his relatives, be remembered here. . . . Remember also the illuminator, who adorned this with many colours, the noble scribe Hayrapet, and the pupils of Hayrapet who worked on this, Nahapet and Hakob; may they receive the grace of God. Whoever reads this let him say "God have mercy" on Ter Grigor and all his blood relatives. Amen. Father. Remember again in Christ the Khat'un Dsaghik who gave ten gold pieces to have the Gospel illuminated . . . and her husband Khodja Garak' who has rested in Christ . . . and her son paron Grigor and may God grant him long life . . . and her other son paron Margaré who this year rested in Christ. . . .' Foll. 324-324v. Long prayer addressed to the Virgin, for the salvation of the soul of Margaré. Fol. 325. 'Remember again in Christ the deceased paron Urustum and say "God have mercy". Remember again the parents of Dsaghik . . . Ter Rustakes and his wife Khanp'ari . . . and may you be remembered in Christ.'



Fol. 250v. 'Remember again in your pure prayers Khodja Khatchik, who rests in the Lord, and his wife the God-loving Khat'un Mariam, . . . their sons Hodja Kirakos and paron Safar and the tender and young paron Avetik'. May God keep them without troubles for many years on this earth until their old days. Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Vision of Ezekiel.* Pl. 52a. Inscription: 'The vision which Ezekiel saw on the river Chebar, and the hanging roll.'

Fol. 2v. *Annunciation.* The Angel, holding a small flower, and the Virgin who holds the spindle stand under arches crowned with turrets; between them is a table, with a chalice, covered with the cloth, placed under a small structure with a conical dome. Arched openings in the background. Inscription: 'The archangel Gabriel who gave the tidings to the Virgin Mary, the holy Theotokos.'

Fol. 3. *Visitation.* Pl. 52b. Inscription: 'The Theotokos went to Elizabeth and related her vision, and she (Elizabeth), rejoicing, kissed Mary.'

Fol. 4. *Nativity.* The Virgin is seated on a bench, next to the manger with the ass and ox. The three Magi, bareheaded, kneel before her, and raise in their hands golden caskets. Two segments are drawn at the upper corners against the starry sky; the ray of light, ending in a large star, descends from the segment on the left and an angel (slightly blurred) comes out of the segment on the right. Joseph is seated in the lower left corner, inside a scalloped frame; on the right a shepherd plays the flute and faces a large, horned animal. Inscription: 'The birth of Christ, whom they put in the manger of the animals, and the kings of the Magi who came to worship.'

Fol. 5. *Circumcision.* Christ is seated, full-face, high above the altar. Two old men sit at His sides, a little lower down, and hold His feet; the one on the left raises his knife; other men stand on both sides. A rich architectural setting of interlacing arches, from which hang many lanterns, fills the background. Five conical domes, with crosses, separated by large, stylized leaves, rest on the arches. Inscription: 'The circumcision of Christ, whom they circumcised when he was eight days old.'

Fol. 6v. *Presentation.* The Virgin and Joseph, with doves, Simeon, and another nimbed man (instead of Anna) stand at the sides of the altar; Christ appears to be standing on the chalice placed on this altar. Architectural setting with three arches and three conical domes with crosses. Inscription: 'They brought Christ to the temple on the fortieth day, and the old Simeon embraced and caressed Him and said "Now let (thy servant) depart."'

Fol. 7. *Baptism.* John the Baptist, in a short tunic, baptizes Christ standing with folded arms in a horizontal band of water filled with fishes, and a dragon; on the right are two angels. The figures are framed by three arches; over the central one, inside a polygonal frame crowned with a dome, appears the bust of God the Father, arms spread; the dove descending head down seems to be the continuation of His beard. Small trees are drawn above the side arches. Inscription: 'The Baptism of Christ in the river Jordan, and the Father testifying from on high and the Spirit descended in the form of a dove.'

Fol. 8v. *Transfiguration.* In the upper part, under the arches of a building with five domes, stand Christ, in white raiment, Elijah on the left, and Moses, beardless, holding a book, on the right. Below, between the columns, the three apostles, kneeling,

and turned to the left, look up. Inscription: 'Illumination of Christ, who was illumined with light on Mount Thabor and revealed His Glory.'

Fol. 9. *Raising of Lazarus*. Christ, followed by the apostles, advances towards the small, shrouded figure of Lazarus, standing in the opening of a structure with a high dome; next to it stand two small figures in pointed bonnets. Over the extended architrave of the building appear five bearded heads; the hands of two men pass under the architrave. Below, Martha and Mary kneel facing one another and embrace Christ's feet; on the right a young man in a pointed bonnet carries away the slab of stone. Inscription: 'The resurrection of Lazarus whom Christ raised from the dead when he had been dead for four days.'

Fol. 10v. *Crucifixion*. Pl. 53a. Inscription: 'The Crucifixion of Christ, whom the Jews crucified above Adam's head, and the Theotokos and John were there.'

Fol. 11. *Entombment*. Joseph of Arimathea, with sleeves rolled up to his elbows, embraces the dead body of Christ and seems to be lowering it on a slab of stone drawn diagonally behind a ewer. Nicodemus stands behind Joseph, and three other, smaller men are on the right. A curtain hangs from the frame above, and from two small openings under it emerge the nude bodies of two angels, head down. Inscription: 'The shrouding of Christ whom Joseph and Nicodemus and others shrouded.'

Fol. 12v. *Harrowing of Hell*. Christ, carrying a large, ornate cross, walks over the broken doors and takes by the hand Adam, who is kneeling in the middle of a black area; behind Adam is Eve, seated. John the Baptist and the two kings are represented lower down on the left, while three nude men, with tied hands, stand in the black area on the right. The tail of a large serpent, whose head is crushed by the broken gates, reaches up to these men. The heads of four angels emerge from the segments of sky in the upper corners. Inscription: 'The Harrowing of Hell which Christ destroyed and He took Adam's hand and freed his race.'

Fol. 13. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. The three Marys holding caskets and lamps stand next to the angel seated in the centre, on a circular stone. To the right is a small domed structure with a lamp hanging between the two columns. Below, separated by a narrow band, three soldiers in pointed caps and tight-fitting trousers lie asleep, their shields, axes, and a mace are on the ground next to them. One of the soldiers holds a curved sword, the swords of the two others are tied to their belts. Inscription: 'Christ's sepulchre, and the shining angel on the stone, the women bringing the anointment and the guards stunned.'

Fol. 14v. *Ascension*. Pl. 53b. Inscription: 'The Ascension of Christ who ascended to heaven in glory.'

Fol. 15v. *Christ in glory, donor and painter*. Pl. 54a. Inscription: 'The divine cross on which Christ comes for judgement, and the Gabrielian trumpets sound and the dead rise.' Next to the figures on the left, 'Ter Grigor'; on the right, 'Ter Hayrapet'.

Fol. 16. *Last Judgement*. Pl. 54b. Inscription: 'The Lord seated on the tetramorphic throne, the judgement and the scales which weigh the rewards and sins.'

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 30v.), Mark (fol. 109v.), and Luke (fol. 164v.) are seated writing or meditating in front of an architectural setting; John (fol. 251v.), head turned towards the segment of sky, dictates to Prochoros seated before a domed building on the left.

In addition to the trees (foll. 78, 79v., 142, 143v.), temples (foll. 87v., 149, 233v., 257v., 283v.), and crosses (foll. 100, 240, 303v., 308) which are painted in the margins when required by the text, there are several figures or vignettes: fol. 67v., Christ (Mt. xvi. 13); fol. 104, Joseph of Arimathea (Mt. xxvii. 57); fol. 105, a holy woman (Mt. xxviii. 1); fol. 115v., cornfield (Mk. ii. 23); fol. 133v., Christ (Mk. viii. 27); fol. 160, Joseph of Arimathea (Mk. xv. 42); fol. 182v., cornfield (Lk. vi. 1); fol. 196, Christ (Lk. ix. 18); fol. 211, flames rising out of a bowl (Lk. xii. 49); fol. 243v., Joseph of Arimathea (Lk. xxiii. 50); fol. 285, Lazarus standing in the opening of his tomb (Jn. xi. 1); fol. 310, Joseph of Arimathea (Jn. xix. 38).

The rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* are supported by columns with elaborate capitals and bases. Triangles or arches are drawn in these rectangles; the geometric motifs of meanders, zigzags, and interlaces, as well as the floral ornaments, painted in brilliant colours on the gold ground, imitate the designs of the 13th and 14th centuries, but although the individual motifs are the same, the general effect is different. Multifoil arches open into the rectangular headpieces which are decorated with floral scrolls, linear interlaces, or with flowers drawn inside squares or lozenges.

REMARKS. This manuscript is an excellent example of the work done at Ispahan and New Julfa during the 17th century.¹ The figures and ornaments are carefully drawn, and painted in rich, bright colours, with a predominance of blue, red, green, yellow, and lilac. The backgrounds of the ornamental compositions are always gold, while those of the full-page miniatures are partly gold, partly of different colours. The miniaturist, Hayrapet, who has painted his own portrait kneeling at the foot of the cross, opposite the owner of the manuscript (Pl. 54a), was one of the prominent artists of Ispahan and New Julfa. In 1648, together with three of his pupils and the painter Aghap'ari, he had illustrated a handsome Bible.² The Biblical scenes at the beginning of the manuscript, copied from European engravings, are probably the work of Aghap'ari while, according to the colophon, Hayrapet and his assistants were chiefly responsible for the illuminations. But Hayrapet must also have painted some of the full-page miniatures in the body of the manuscript, for the image of Solomon, enthroned, closely resembles the portraits of the Evangelists in our manuscript.³ The name of the painter Hayrapet appears also in several other works of Ispahan: a Gospel written in 1631;⁴ a manuscript written in 1646 at the monastery of Tat'ev, continued at Ispahan and completed at Etchmiadzin in 1653 (Etchmiadzin, no. 1881/1742); two Bibles dated 1649 and 1660; and two Gospels dated 1678 and 1688.⁵ A scribe by the name of Hakob has signed a Hymnal written at Ispahan in 1654 and illustrated by the painter

¹ See Introduction, pp. xxxix-xli.

² Venice, no. 623: Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i. 25-44; *Pazmaveb*, 1935, nos. 9-12, figs. 40-43. The place where the manuscript was copied is indicated as the 'assembly of the Gazketsik'; we know from other sources that this group of Armenians resided at T'oroskan, the suburb of Ispahan where the Beatty manuscript was written. See H. Ter Hovhanyants, *History of New Julfa* (in Armenian), New Julfa, 1880, p. 33.

³ *Pazmaveb*, l.c., fig. 42.

⁴ *Etchmiadzin*, 1950, Sept.-Oct., pp. 85-86.

⁵ *Etchmiadzin*, no. 189/167: Bible, A.D. 1649, cf. Svirine, *La miniature*, pp. 128 and 130, figs. on pp. 123-4, 127. The name of the painter Hayrapet is given by G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, p. 27. *Etchmiadzin*, Bible, A.D. 1660: Brosset, *Rapports*, p. 34, no. 18. Berlin, Or. Minut. 274, Gospel, A.D. 1678: Karamianz, *Verzeichniss*, pp. 12-13. Venice, no. 146, Gospel, A.D. 1688: Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i. 519-24.

Astvadsatur, while a Gospel written at Ispahan in 1664 by the scribe Poghos is illustrated by a painter named Hakob.¹

Hayrapet has a very fine feeling for decorative effects. This is particularly apparent in the way in which he has drawn the wings of the angels. In the Ascension the heads of the angels form a garland around the mandorla, and their wings, spreading horizontally, fill the entire background (Pl. 53*b*). The same interest in ornamental effects has made him draw a spiky mane around the heads of the demons (Pl. 54*b*). In the Vision of Ezekiel (Pl. 52*a*) the sinuous stalks of reeds rise symmetrically at the sides of the river Chebar, and the spokes of the wheel terminate in floral motifs. Our painter also has a marked predilection for elaborate architectural settings which he introduces into the compositions even when they are not in keeping with the subject. Thus the Transfiguration (fol. 8*v*.) takes place in a two-storied church with five domes; arcades frame the figures of John, Christ and the angels in the Baptism, and small trees appear above the architrave (fol. 7); a small dome crowns the composition of the Ascension (Pl. 53*b*). The architectural setting also governs the size and proportions of the figures. The tall slender figures are even more elongated when placed in a narrow rectangular frame, for instance Mary and Elizabeth in the Visitation (Pl. 52*b*), while the Evangelists who have to fill a wide rectangle are shorter and slightly heavier than the other figures.

The miniatures of our manuscript are particularly close to those of a Gospel illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan in 1637 (Jerusalem, no. 2617), and even more so to those of a Gospel illustrated in 1655 at the monastery of Ktuts, in Lake Van, by the scribe Sahak (Jerusalem, no. 2601). In this last case the similarities are so marked that we must suppose that the two manuscripts are derived from the same model.

The Vision of Ezekiel which precedes the Gospel cycle (Pl. 52*a*), the Crucifixion with the pelican feeding his young (Pl. 53*a*), the large ornate cross with the medallion of Christ and trumpeting angels, the Last Judgement (Pl. 54*b*) all follow the iconographic types which had passed from the works of the Van school to the general repertory of the artists of Khizan in the late 16th century, and were introduced to New Julfa in the following century. Some of the compositions are slightly more unusual. In the Visitation (Pl. 52*b*) two men, probably Joseph and Zacharias, stand at the sides of Mary and Elizabeth; this iconographic type occurs in the manuscripts illustrated by Sargis and Mesrop of Khizan.² In the Harrowing of Hell the nude, chained figures represented on Christ's left suggest the Last Judgement, for we have, on one side the sinners, and on the other, the righteous saved by Christ; the same composition may be seen in the Gospel of Jerusalem, no. 2601, and in one of the Gospels illustrated by Mesrop.³ The Entombment, where Joseph of Arimathea standing behind Christ lowers the body into the tomb, is identical with the miniature of Jerusalem, no. 2601; in an earlier example by Mesrop of Khizan the nude angels emerging from two openings in the sky had not been represented (Bodleian, Arm. d. 13). In the Presentation a bearded man takes the place of the prophetess Anna, as in Jerusalem, no. 2601,

¹ *Etchmiadzin*, 1950, July-Aug., pp. 85-87; Sept.-Oct., p. 88.

² Jerusalem, no. 1663, Hymnal, A.D. 1601; Bodleian, Arm. d. 13, Gospel, A.D. 1609; Jerusalem, no. 2617,

Gospel, A.D. 1637.

³ Gospel, A.D. 1615: F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl. xxxviii, fig. 91.



while Mesrop had represented a younger man in Jerusalem, no. 2617. The Circumcision, which rarely figures in the Gospel cycle, also appears in Jerusalem, no. 2617; the symmetrical composition with the Christ Child in the centre, and the priests and elders at the sides, seems to have been patterned on the scene of Christ among the Doctors.

The influence of Western art is discernible only in secondary details: the angel of the Annunciation carries a bunch of flowers; Christ is nailed on the cross with three nails; in the Ascension He wears a long tunic and carries the bannered cross (Pl. 53). The unusual representation of God the Father in the Baptism, with the dove forming the prolongation of His beard, can also be traced back to Western examples, to the group of the Trinity where the dove comes out of God's mouth.¹

The analogies noted above with the works of the Van and Khizan schools, as well as with those of Mesrop of Khizan, concern primarily the iconography. Although Hayrapet and other painters of New Julfa sometimes imitated the style of their immediate predecessors, they gradually abandoned the extreme stylization; under the influence of manuscripts of a much earlier period which they copied, perhaps also under that of European works, they tried to model the figures more carefully, and to imitate the natural forms.

579

FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1656

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; foll. 12-15, Headings, concordance and preface of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 16v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 17-87v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 88-89v., Headings and preface of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 91v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 92-142, Gospel of Mark; foll. 142-5, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 147, Mk. xvi. 15-20; fol. 147v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 148-227, Gospel of Luke; foll. 227-9, Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 230v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 231-95, Gospel of John; fol. 295v., Colophon.

Lacunae. After fol. 295 with the end of the colophon. Fol. 147 continues the text of fol. 141v., but these last verses of Mark have been written again in a different writing on fol. 142. Foll. 138 and 139 are written in a different hand and probably replace missing folios; the script being smaller, half of the second column on fol. 139 and the entire page on fol. 139v. are left blank.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20.5 × 15 cm.; written surface, 14 × 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 23 lines each. 295 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper. Irregular, medium size *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters.

BINDING. Unbound.

¹ A. Heimann, *L'Iconographie de la Trinité*, pp. 50-51.



DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1656 for Khodja Ptum.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 295v. 'Glory to the most Holy Trinity, to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. . . . This holy Gospel is in memory of Khodja Ptum, of his wife Gulnabat', and their sons, faithful in the Lord, the tender child, paron Aghap'iré. . . . Remember again in Christ, Lord of all, paron Khatchik who this year passed away to Christ . . . in the year of the Armenians 1105 (= A.D. 1656) at the time of *Barekendan*, causing great sorrow and suffering to his parents and to his family. This Gospel' (the end is missing).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Matthew (fol. 16v.), seated in front of a table, writes in his book; an angel, holding an open book, stands behind the table. A drapery hangs over the buildings in the background. The mantle of Matthew is arranged in a very unusual manner; it barely comes to his knees, in front, and looks more like an apron; at the back it reaches his ankles. The edge of the mantle forms a series of pointed scallops. Mark (fol. 91v.) and Luke (fol. 147v.) are seated, writing, in front of a plain table; their feet rest on their symbols. The background in both miniatures is the same as in the portrait of Matthew. John and Prochoros (fol. 230v.) are seated in the opening of a cave; John turns his head towards the rays descending from the segment of sky in the upper left corner; he holds an open book on which an eagle is perched.

The *Letter of Eusebius* is written under narrow rectangles decorated with large floral motifs; multifoil arches frame the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus. The rectangles over the *Canon tables* are also decorated with floral designs; lions standing on their hind legs and monkeys holding candles replace the usual trees in the outer margins of foll. 7v., 8, 9v., and 10.

The *headpiece* of Matthew (fol. 17) is a large rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it, decorated with five-lobed leaves drawn inside squares or lozenges. In the centre is a medallion with the Virgin holding the child on her left arm. The other headpieces have the same type of floral designs.

The large marginal ornament of the first page of each Gospel is formed by interlacing palmettes; smaller floral motifs mark the beginning of the pericopes, and are occasionally replaced by figures or other motifs required by the text. Fol. 21, John the Baptist, hand raised and holding an open scroll (Mt. iii. 1); fol. 34, Christ and the ruler kneeling before Him (Mt. ix. 18); fol. 43, a temple (Mt. xiii. 1); fol. 85v., Joseph of Arimathea kneeling (Mt. xxvii. 57); fol. 128v., a temple (Mk. xiii. 1); fol. 140, Joseph of Arimathea kneeling (Mk. xv. 42); foll. 149v.–150, Annunciation (Lk. i. 26); fol. 214, a temple (Lk. xxi. 5); fol. 223v., Joseph of Arimathea kneeling (Lk. xxiii. 50).

REMARKS. The predominant colours are a deep reddish-purple and a bright orange frequently used in the 17th century. The backgrounds of the portraits and the headpieces are in gold; those of the Canon tables are painted a deep blue. The marginal miniatures are outlined in red and only occasionally shaded with pink.

The style of the miniatures comes closest to the paintings of the manuscripts written at Constantinople. In a Gospel dated 1586 (Paris, Margossian–Esmérian Collection, no. 12), and in another dated 1655 (Jerusalem, no. 2624), Matthew's mantle is draped in

the same peculiar manner and falls on his knees like an apron; in both manuscripts the headpiece of Matthew is also decorated with an oval medallion framing the figures of the Virgin and Child. The iconographic types of the Evangelists, with their symbols crouching at their feet or standing next to them, imitate the compositions of Western engravings, and occur in a number of Armenian manuscripts of the 17th century.¹ The representation of John and Prochoros, seated in the opening of a cave, is also an iconographic type commonly used in the 17th century.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1, leaf from another Gospel with half a column of text (Jn. xviii. 17-18); foll. 3v.-4, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 5v.-12, Canon tables; foll. 13-15, Preface, headings and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 15v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 16-101, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 101-3, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 103v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 104-59, Gospel of Mark; foll. 159v.-162, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 162v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 163-247, Gospel of Luke; foll. 247v.-249, Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 249v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 250-310, Gospel of John; fol. 310, Colophon.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20.5 × 14.5 cm.; written surface 13.5 × 9 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 312 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, slightly yellowed. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the second and third lines and the initials of the verses are in gold, red, or blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Black leather over boards, blind-tooled and considerably worn. Remnants of studs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 310. 'This holy Gospel was renewed in the year 1199 (= A.D. 1750) by my hand, the *vardapet* Nerses, on the first of the month of March, for the happy enjoyment of Ter Margar. Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists:* Matthew (fol. 15v.), Mark (fol. 103v.) and Luke (fol. 162v.) are seated, writing or meditating, in front of an architectural setting; John (fol. 249v.), seated in the opening of a cave, holds an open scroll and, his head turned towards the segment of sky, he dictates to Prochoros, drawn on a much smaller scale on the right. Gold backgrounds.

¹ See Codices nos. 581, 584, and 586; also Macler, *Documents*, pls. xci-xciii, figs. 217, 221, 223.



Thirty-four small figures or vignettes are drawn in red outline in the margins, at the beginning of the pericopes. They are:

In the *Gospel of Matthew*: fol. 17v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 18, the three Magi (ii. 1); fol. 19, flight into Egypt (ii. 13); fol. 20, John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 66v., Christ and the rich young man (xix. 16); fol. 69, temple (xx. 17); fol. 72, fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 80v., temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 98v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57); fol. 99v., two holy women (xxviii. 1).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 128v., Christ and the blind man (viii. 22); fol. 137, temple (x. 32); fol. 139v., fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 141, temple (xi. 27); fol. 144v., temple (xii. 35); fol. 145v., temple (xiii. 1); fol. 157, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: foll. 164v.-165, Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 166, Visitation (i. 39); fol. 169, a shepherd, partly rubbed off (ii. 8); fol. 171v., temple (ii. 41); fol. 204, the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 211v., Christ and the bent woman kneeling (xiii. 10); fol. 225, temple (xviii. 31); fol. 229v., vineyard (xx. 9); fol. 232v., temple (xxi. 5); fol. 243, Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 262, temple (v. 1); fol. 271, temple (vii. 14); fol. 277, Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 282, Lazarus, shrouded, lying on a couch (xi. 1); fol. 304, Christ bearing the cross (xix. 16); fol. 306, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38).

The rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius* are decorated with simple floral motifs; the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted in the lunettes. Similar floral motifs decorate the rectangles over the *Canon tables*; lions, standing on their hind legs, and monkeys, holding candles, replace the usual trees in the outer margins of foll. 9v., 10, 11v., and 12.

The *headpieces* consist of wide rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and are decorated with floral scrolls or flowers inside lozenges painted on a gold ground. An angel, in a roundel, is drawn in the headpiece of Matthew.

REMARKS. In style and iconography this manuscript is closely connected with Codex no. 579 dated 1656. We again find the peculiar arrangement of the mantle of Matthew, falling over his knees with a scalloped edge, and the Evangelist holds a vellum scroll with both hands as in the two Constantinopolitan manuscripts mentioned in connexion with Codex no. 579.¹

The decorations of the Letter of Eusebius, of the Canon tables, and the headpieces follow the same general pattern as in Codex no. 579, but the scale of the individual motifs is smaller, and the drawing shows greater care. The figures are also slightly more elongated in this manuscript. John and Prochoros are seated in the opening of the cave as in Codex no. 579, Mark and Luke are not accompanied by their symbols; in this respect as well as in the general style the miniatures are very close to those of Jerusalem, no. 2624, illustrated at Constantinople in 1655. We can therefore assign the present manuscript to Constantinople and date it in the 17th century.

¹ Paris, Margossian-Esmérian Collection, no. 12; Jerusalem, no. 2624.

581

FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1668

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-16, Full-page miniatures; foll. 17v.-18, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 19v.-26, Canon tables; foll. 29-31, Headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 31v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 32-104v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 104v.-106, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 106v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 107-53, Gospel of Mark; foll. 153-155v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 156v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 157-236v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 236v.-238, Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 238v., Portrait of John; foll. 239-298v., Gospel of John; foll. 301-2, Colophons.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 7.5 × 5.5 cm.; written surface 4.5 × 3 cm. 2 columns of 21 lines each. 302 + 4 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. First quire fine, white vellum; other quires glazed, fine paper. Very small, neat *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist and the first line is written in zoomorphic letters on a gold band. The pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the first line in gold and the second in red *bolorgir*.

BINDING. Silver-gilt engraved with flowers in a medallion at the centre. On the flap, in high relief, Christ standing in profile, hands bound behind His back.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in A.D. 1668 at Tigranocerta (Amida) by the scribe Grigor for Onop'rius, bishop of Tigranocerta.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 106, 'and remember the sinful scribe Grigor'. Fol. 236v., 'O reader of this holy Gospel say once "have mercy" on this sinful scribe Grigor'.

Foll. 301-2. 'Glory. . . This holy Gospel with the word of God was written in the metropolis of Tigranocerta, in the year of the Armenians 1117 (= A.D. 1668) . . . (I) Onop'rius, bishop and *vardapet*, metropolitan of Tigranocerta, received this holy Gospel, . . . adorned inside and outside with gold and silver, different colours and many hued flowers (ornaments). . . You who encounter this . . . remember me, Onop'rius *vardapet* and my parents the pilgrim Khatchik and Khan Maghé . . . and may you be remembered in Christ's kingdom. And on it is a gold cross decorated with precious stones and beautiful ornaments and in it are placed relics of the tree of life (the cross), and a parcel of the stone of the sepulchre, a parcel of the light-spreading tomb of Christ, and relics of John the Baptist, of Thaddeus the apostle, and of the holy virgin Hrip'simé; with these it is bound and erected for the protection of those who enjoy this and of those who remember us and those who are remembered. I hope that they will not be separated from one another. Amen.'

On the second unnumbered folio at the beginning, in a modern hand: 'His High Excellency Sir Gorozli (i.e. Sir Gore Ouseley), the Ambassador of the English, who



had come to be ambassador to the Shah of Persia Fatali (i.e. Fath' Ali), while returning to his country with his family, passed by this holy see of Ararat. He showed much solicitude for us and all our congregation. Because of this, as a token of unforgettable love and a perpetual memorial, and as an occasion for blessings on the victorious kingdom of Britain, we offered this small Gospel to His High Excellency. June 4, 1814, at holy Etchmiadzin, (signed) Ep'rem Patriarch and Catholicos of all the Armenians.' His seal with the date 1259 (= A.D. 1810) is affixed. On the third unnumbered folio: 'Until the present time 146 years had passed since the writing of the holy Gospel.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Annunciation.* The angel, holding a lily, advances swiftly towards the Virgin, kneeling next to her desk; the dove and a ray of light come down from the clouds.

Fol. 2. *Adoration of the Shepherds.* The Virgin is seated, Joseph stands behind her and looks over her shoulder at the Christ Child lying on the ground. Shepherds, seen from the back, stand at the sides; an angel faces them on the right. The head of the ox is seen on the left; masses of clouds crown the composition.

Fol. 3v. *Presentation.* The Virgin, kneeling, presents the nude child to Simeon, seated on the left; Joseph stands behind the Virgin and two women behind Simeon. The architectural setting represents the lower part of a large columnar hall; a small building is seen through the arched opening.

Fol. 4. *Baptism.* Christ is kneeling before John the Baptist; two angels stand on the right; the dove flies down from the clouds.

Fol. 5v. *Transfiguration.* Jesus stands on the hill, one hand raised, between Elijah and Moses; the three apostles lie or kneel at the foot of the mountain.

Fol. 6. *Raising of Lazarus.* Christ, followed by the disciples, approaches Lazarus, seated on a rock, with a cloth covering his head; Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet; several Jews stand behind Lazarus. A large tree fills the background.

Fol. 7v. *Entry into Jerusalem.* Christ, seated on the ass, is followed by three disciples and is greeted by several other men; a young man spreads his garments, a child is on a tree on the left. The city has not been represented.

Fol. 8. *Last Supper.* Christ and the disciples are seated at a round table, six are seen from the back; John leans on Christ's bosom.

Fol. 9v. *Washing of the Feet.* Christ, kneeling, holds the foot of Peter, who points to his head; the apostles stand in two groups at the sides in front of wide arches.

Fol. 10. *Gethsemane.* Christ is kneeling before the angel, who holds out a cup; the sleeping apostles are seen in the distance, on the left.

Fol. 11v. *Betrayal.* Judas, coming from the left, seen almost from the back, embraces Christ; unarmed soldiers stand at the sides. In the foreground, on the right, is Peter cutting the ear of Malchus.

Fol. 12. *Carrying of the Cross.* Christ, staggering under the weight of the cross, is pushed by a man and pulled by a soldier who holds the cord tied around Christ's neck. Two men stand on the left; a woman kneels before Christ. Hilly background.

Fol. 13v. *Crucifixion.* The powerful figure of Christ hangs from the cross; the Virgin and John stand at the sides.

Fol. 14. *Resurrection.* Christ, holding a bannered cross in his right hand, rises from

a sarcophagus. Two soldiers are seen from the back, on the left; two others, on the right, bend forward and look in the sarcophagus.

Fol. 15v. *Ascension*. Christ stands in the mandorla on a hill, His right hand raised; around Him are the apostles and the Virgin, all kneeling.

Fol. 16. *Pentecost*. The Virgin is seated under a canopy on the right, the apostles are grouped on the left, they all gaze at the gold rays descending on them from the dove.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 31v.), Mark (fol. 106v.), and Luke (fol. 156v.) are seated and hold a book on their knees; their symbols are next to them: the angel standing, the lion and the ox crouching. John (fol. 238v.) is seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned to the rays of light descending from the segment of sky; next to him is his symbol, the eagle.

A number of figures and motifs, connected with the text, are drawn in the margins, at the beginning of the pericopes.

In the *Gospel of Matthew*: Foll. 32v.-33, twelve ancestors of Christ, in separate medallions (i. 2-16); fol. 34, three Magi bearing gifts (ii. 1); fol. 36, John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 49v., Christ and Matthew kneeling (ix. 9); fol. 50, Christ and Jairus kneeling (ix. 18); fol. 50v., Christ and two blind men kneeling (ix. 27); fol. 56v., cornfield (xii. 1); fol. 57v., Christ and the blind and dumb man (xii. 22); fol. 66, Christ and a Pharisee (xv. 1); fol. 71v., Christ and the lunatic's father kneeling (xvii. 14); fol. 79v., Christ and the two blind men kneeling (xx. 29); fol. 80v., the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 88, a temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 102, Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: Fol. 111v., a cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 132v., Christ blessing the children (x. 13); fol. 133v., Christ and Peter (x. 28); fol. 135, Christ and the blind man kneeling (x. 46); fol. 136, the fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 137, a temple (xi. 27); fol. 141, Christ and a disciple (xiii. 1); fol. 151, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: Fol. 159, Annunciation, the Virgin is kneeling (i. 26); fol. 162, Annunciation to the shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 171v., Christ and the leper kneeling (v. 12); fol. 174, a cornfield (vi. 1); fol. 194v., Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 201, flames rising from a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 203, a temple (xiii. 22); fol. 216, Christ and the blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 223, a temple (xxi. 5); fol. 232v., Joseph of Arimathea (xiii. 50).

In the *Gospel of John*: Fol. 242v., a servant pouring water into wine jars (ii. 1); foll. 244 and 258v., temples (ii. 23, vii. 14); fol. 261, Christ and a Pharisee (viii. 12); fol. 264, Christ and the blind man (ix. 1); fol. 268, a temple (x. 22); fol. 276, Christ and a young man (xii. 44); fol. 291v., Christ bearing the cross (xix. 17); fol. 293, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38); fol. 297, Christ and Peter (xxi. 15).

In the *Letter of Eusebius* the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius are painted under trefoil arches inscribed in the rectangles; lions standing on their hind legs and monkeys holding candles replace the floral motifs next to the *Canon tables* on foll. 23v., 24, 25v., and 26. The narrow rectangles are filled with floral motifs on gold ground.

The *headpieces* consist of large rectangles occupying about two-thirds of the page, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with floral scrolls. Large ornaments of interlacing palmettes fill the outer margin of the first page of each Gospel; the marginal ornaments of the pericopes, wherever they are not replaced by miniatures, are formed by simpler floral interlaces and by birds.



REMARKS. The first quire, of fine white vellum, is contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, but has been illustrated by another person than the one who painted the portraits of the Evangelists and the marginal miniatures. The fine modelling of the figures, the correct perspective of the architectural elements, the feeling for space, which is quite remarkable in spite of the small size of the compositions, in short, every detail of style and iconography reveal the work of a skilled artist trained in the Baroque tradition. The Armenian painters of the 17th century who copied Western models always betray their origin by the conventional treatment of the draperies and by their inability to give convincing form to the figures. The painter who illustrated the first quire must have been a foreigner, or an Armenian who had been trained in Europe; how he came to be living at Amida at this time remains a mystery.

The portraits of the Evangelists, the numerous marginal miniatures, the headpieces, and other ornaments are the work of the Armenian scribe. As in many other manuscripts of this period the symbols of Mark, Luke, and John are represented crouching at the Evangelists' feet, following a type well known through European engravings. The marginal vignettes are also a common feature of Armenian Gospels of the 17th century.

The owner of the manuscript, Bishop Onop'rius, who in the wording of the colophon gives the impression of being a pious Christian, who greatly prized the relics he had assembled and placed in the cross attached to the binding,¹ was actually one of the most corrupt men of his time, and he has been very severely judged by the contemporary Armenian historian, Zak'aria.² He had been appointed metropolitan of Amida upon the request of the population, who had come to know him when he was sent to this city as a legate, but his evil conduct and shameful practices soon put an end to his popularity; he was forced to flee and seek refuge, first at Etchmiadzin and shortly after at Ispahan. He returned again to Etchmiadzin, but because of his intrigues against the Catholicos, and other misdeeds, he was finally unfrocked, imprisoned, and died in prison in the early seventies.³ The date of his escape from Amida is not known, but it must have taken place soon after 1668, when this Gospel was written.

The second colophon gives us the interesting information that this manuscript had been presented by the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin to Sir Gore Ouseley who, as Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, had gone to Persia in 1810 and returned to England in 1814.

We have two accounts of this embassy, one written by Sir William Ouseley, the brother and private secretary of the Ambassador, the other by James Morier, the secretary of the Embassy. Sir William Ouseley, who left Persia in 1812, describes his visit to Etchmiadzin, 'where, during two days, I had been induced almost to fancy myself in some European monastery or college, from the appearance of Crucifixes, fat old priests walking in the square, hooded Monks, students in their black gowns, boys reciting their lessons, the singing of psalms, the chiming of bells, and other circumstances.'⁴

¹ The cross and the relics have disappeared, but the other parts of the original binding still remain.

² Zak'aria vardapet, *History* (in Armenian), Vagharshapat, 1870, vol. ii, pp. 67 ff.

³ M. Ormanian, *Azgaqatum*, vol. ii, col. 2550-1,

2577-9.

⁴ Sir William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, London, 1819-23, vol. iii, p. 447.



Sir Gore Ouseley's visit in June 1814 is described by Morier. As they approached Etchmiadzin 'the Ambassador was met by the Patriarch, who headed a long procession of fat and rosy monks, all dressed in black, and black hoods, making an exhibition completely novel to us. . . . His manners and general appearance were those of a perfect gentleman; and this was not to be wondered at, for he was a great traveller and had long frequented the court of Russia, where he was held in high estimation.'¹ The party was then led to the church, where a short service was sung and 'the most precious relics belonging to the church' were exhibited. 'The first and principal one was said to be the head of the very spear with which the Roman soldier pierced the side of our Saviour. . . . The arm of St. Gregory, and the scalp of St. Repsime, are still there, but so incased in gold and ornaments that neither of them can be distinctly seen.'² Unfortunately Morier does not mention the manuscript which was presented on that day, according to the date of the colophon. Morier returned alone to Etchmiadzin on three different occasions in the following months, one of his principal objects being 'to inspect the library of the monastery, where I had heard that treasures of literature lay buried, which no stranger had yet explored'. The visit proved to be a great disappointment. 'The books were ranged in thick rows along the sides of a small dark chamber, abundantly covered with dust, and apparently not much disturbed by their present possessors. I asked in vain for a catalogue; the majority of their books were treatises on religion, lives of saints, and copies of the Evangelists.'³ This is unfortunately a true picture of the sad neglect of the library of Etchmiadzin at that time, deplored also by Armenian writers, and his severe comments on the ignorance and indifference of the monks are also justified. But his statement that there were 'several Armenian manuscripts of the Gospel, but none worthy of remark'⁴ would be seriously questioned by all students of medieval art, for some of the finest illuminated manuscripts were preserved at Etchmiadzin.

582

FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1675

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-9, Canon tables; foll. 10-12, Headings, preface, and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 12v., Colophon; foll. 13-92, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 92v.-94, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 95v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 96-142v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 143-6v., Headings and preface of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 147v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 148-224v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 225-7, Headings and preface of the Gospel of John; fol. 227v., Portrait of John; foll. 228-88, Gospel of John; foll. 288-90v., Colophon. There are faint traces of writing on fol. 288v.; fol. 289r. is left blank, but there is no interruption in the text.

Lacunae. One folio between foll. 12 and 13 with the portrait of Matthew.

¹ J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816*, London, 1818, p. 323.

² Ibid., pp. 324-5.

³ Ibid., p. 333.

⁴ Ibid., p. 333.



MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17 × 13 cm.; written surface, 10.8 × 7.5 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 291 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the second and third lines in blue and gold *erkat'agir*, the initials of the verses in red.

BINDING. Light brown leather on boards, blind-tooled with simple linear frame; centre panel with fine thistle ornaments; two narrow leather straps.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1675 at Akn (Egin) by the scribe Khatchatur for Hohannes.

COLOPHONS. Foll. 288–90v., 'Glory to the holy Trinity. . . . The Christ-loving and humble man Hohannes received this holy Gospel from his rightful earnings and gave it as a memorial to his parents and his deceased. . . . And he had the colophon of this holy Gospel written in the year of the Armenians 1124 (= A.D. 1675), by the hand of . . . the false and sinful scribe, the priest Khatchatur, who has only the name and not the deeds, in the city of Akn, called Ak (fountain) because of the fountain of water, under the shelter of the church of the Holy Theotokos. And he gave this holy Gospel as a memorial to the church of the Holy Theotokos. . . . For the church of the Holy Theotokos was restored in this year 1124 (= A.D. 1675), for this year there was much snow and frost. . . .' In a different hand, 'And I the stupid and ignorant and the least of scribes I copied this holy Gospel in the year 1131 (= A.D. 1682)'.

Fol. 12v. Colophon dated 15 August 1924: 'This Gospel, which had been presented to the church of the Holy Theotokos, at Akn, I, Hakob, son of Ter Nikoghos, I offered it willingly to . . . the priest Timotheus, so that without ever forgetting he should bless and remember me.'

Fol. 291v. Seal of the church of the Holy Theotokos at Akn.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Mark (fol. 95v.) and Luke (fol. 147v.) are seated before an elaborate architectural background, holding a half-open book on their laps. John (fol. 227v.) is seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned towards the ray of light descending from the segment of sky on the left.

Small figures and motifs, connected with the text, are drawn in the margins at the beginning of the pericopes.

In the *Gospel of Matthew*: fol. 13v., the ancestors of Christ represented by nine busts of nimbed men, one above the other (i. 2–8); fol. 15, three Magi holding gold chalices (ii. 1); fol. 16, Joseph sleeping, above him the bust of an angel (ii. 13); fol. 32v., Christ, smeared with ink and partly effaced, only His nimbed head is visible (ix. 18); fol. 33v., Christ and the two blind men, smeared with ink (ix. 27); fol. 39v., cornfield (xii. 1); fol. 56, Christ and the lunatic's father kneeling (xvii. 14); fol. 64, Christ and the two blind men, partly smeared with ink (xx. 29); fol. 66, a tree (xxi. 18); fol. 74, a temple (xiv. 1).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 97v., Christ healing the demoniac (i. 21); fol. 101, cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 124v., Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 125v., fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 130v., a temple (xiii. 1).



In the *Gospel of Luke*: fol. 163v., Christ and the leper, smeared and almost completely obliterated (v. 12); fol. 183v., Christ and the lawyer, almost completely smeared with ink (x. 25); fol. 186, Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 192, flames rising from a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 207, Christ and the blind man, smeared and almost completely obliterated (xviii. 35); fol. 209, Christ and two disciples (xix. 29); fol. 213, temple (xxi. 5); fol. 217, Christ kneeling in prayer (xxii. 39).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 253, Christ healing a blind man, smeared (ix. 1); fol. 256v., temple (x. 22); fol. 258, Christ standing near Lazarus lying in his bed (xi. 1); fol. 280v., Christ carrying a large cross (xix. 17).

The *Letter of Eusebius* has the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius drawn under the arches inscribed in the rectangles. The rectangles over the *Canon tables* are decorated with large and heavy floral scrolls, tinted with red and a little gold, and drawn against a blue background. Lions standing on their hind legs replace the usual floral motifs at the side of the rectangles on foll. 7v.-8, and crowned monkeys holding candles on foll. 8v.-9. Multifoil arches open into the rectangular *headpieces*, which are decorated with large floral scrolls, interlacing palmettes, or an all-over design of lozenges with three-lobed leaves. They are painted in bright colours against a gold background; the same colours and gold are used for the large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes; the smaller floral ornaments and birds drawn next to the pericopes are tinted in red.

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists, the marginal miniatures, and the ornamental designs are characteristic of the style of illumination practised in the 17th century in Constantinople and in different Armenian centres far removed from one another. Many similarities may be observed, for instance, with the illustrations of the Gospel no. 581 copied at Amida in 1668, both in the marginal miniatures and the portraits of the Evangelists. In both manuscripts the Evangelists wear a mantle fastened on the breast, slightly thrown back over the right arm and forming a sharp angle just below it. The desk has been omitted and the Evangelists hold a half-open book or scroll on their knees.

583

FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1681

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 2v.-11, Canon tables; foll. 13-17, Comments on the Evangelists and symbolical interpretation of the number four, preface and headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 17v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 18-85v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 86-87, Headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 87v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 88-130, Gospel of Mark; foll. 131-3, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke and colophon; fol. 133v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 134-209v., Gospel of Luke and colophon; foll. 210-11, Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 211v., Portrait of John; foll. 212-70, Gospel of John; foll. 270v.-3, 275v., Colophons.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20 × 14.5 cm.; written surface, 14.5 × 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 24 lines each. 275 folios.



PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, slightly yellowed. Medium size *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the second, third, and fourth lines and the initials of the verses are in red, purple, and blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, blind-tooled with simple pattern.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1681 at Tumarza (Asia Minor) by the priest Georg and offered to the church of St. Peter.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 133. 'I, the unworthy, wrote this. What shall I, the unworthy, become when Christ will sit on His throne and judge. Throwing myself down I pray the most-blessed mother, will she intercede to her son, the only begotten, for this Christian nation, adorer of the cross, and, also, for this foolish scribe, Georg? Again I beseech you, order of priests, when you read and copy this holy Gospel, which has the words of Christ, say "Father have mercy" on me, the ignorant and foolish servant, in this passing world, and later may He have mercy at His second coming.'

Fol. 209v. 'May my hand rot and ... become useless, but may my writing remain with you as a memorial. Read this with a loving heart, (written) by the foolish servant Georg, who throwing himself at your feet weeps (and asks) that you may say once, "Father have mercy", and may the Lord God have mercy upon you. Amen. I wrote this in memory of my parents and of my brothers, living and dead, and of all my children. Amen.'

Foll. 270v.-272v. 'Glory to the Holy Trinity. ... This was written in the year of our era 1130 (= A.D. 1681) during the patriarchate at Etchmiadzin of Ter Hakob, Catholicos of the Armenians, and the primacy of Markos *vardapet* in this district of Caesarea, and when the bishop Ovakim was the primate of our province. Remember in the Lord my teacher, the priest Barsegh, who departed to Christ, and his son the priest Mik'ayel, who this year rested in Christ. ... And I, the worthless and foolish scribe ... the cleric Georg ..., I wrote this in the village of Tumarza, at the door of the Holy Theotokos and Saints Peter and Paul, and all the other saints who are gathered here. For many years I longed for this, with great desire, and God granted it to me and fulfilled my request. ... O my brothers do not condemn the mistakes of my writing and its large size; this was the best I could do ... for my wits are strayed, and my mind obscured because of the difficult times. For in the year 1120 (= A.D. 1671) I was ordained, and in 1125 (= A.D. 1676) my wife departed to God, and I was left sad unto death. God have mercy. And now I beseech you ... remember my brother Arak'el and his wife Shen Tikin ... for they caused this holy Gospel ... to be written ...; and we placed it in the church of Saint Peter as a memorial to our father Dsaruk and our mother Khas Khat'un ... (follows the list of other relatives). O children of the holy Church, who read and copy this holy Gospel, do not hold it without a cloth. ... Those who beg for us may they be blessed by God and those who injure it may they be judged by the Lord. Our Father who art in heaven.'

Fol. 273. 'Say "God have mercy on the soul of paron Petros who gave us the vellum.'



Fol. 275v. In *notrigir*, 'Say "God have mercy" on the soul of Ter Gevork' who worked much at this holy Gospel, bringer of good tidings.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 17v. *Matthew*, seated full-face, seen to the knees, writes on a book which he holds on his lap. His symbol, the angel, represented on the right, seems to be embracing him. The frame is decorated with floral motifs; Matthew's name is written on the lower band.

Fol. 87v. *Mark*, seen to the knees and turned to the left, writes with his left hand. The head of the lion seems to be coming out of Mark's hip. Rectangular frame intersected by a hexagon. Mark's name is written on the lower band.

Fol. 133v. *Luke*, seen to the knees, is turned to the left, but his head, leaning on his hand, is seen full-face. On the right, next to him, the head of the ox. Luke's name is written on the lower band of the frame.

Fol. 211v. *John*, bearded, seen to the knees, is seated full-face, holding a book and a pen. The eagle is slightly to the left.

There is no ornamental frame for the *Letter of Eusebius*, and the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius are painted in the lunettes of the first two Canon tables (foll. 2v.-3). The *Canon tables* consist of simple rectangles filled with fairly large floral motifs on a blue ground. Crouching animals fill the lunettes inserted in the rectangles of foll. 4v.-5. The capitals and bases of the columns consist of circular medallions framing an animal head or, on foll. 2v. and 3, a figure, in bust, holding a book. The tables on fol. 10v. have not been filled in; the previous pages having been unduly crowded, the beginning of Canon 10 is on fol. 9; the last part is on fol. 11.

The *headpieces* of the Gospels are Π -shaped or consist of rectangles, with multifoil arched openings, and decorated with floral motifs which are sometimes arranged to form geometric patterns. The large marginal ornaments are formed by interlacing palmettes; simpler interlaces accompany the pericope readings except when replaced by small figures or motifs connected with the text, such as trees (foll. 62, 63v., 114, 115v.); temples (foll. 71, 120, 140, 192, 196v.); crosses (foll. 77v., 80v., 84, 122v., 127v., 198v., 200, 202v., 262); a seraph (fol. 84v., Mt. xxviii. 1); the angel next to the sepulchre (fol. 129v., Mk. xv. 42; fol. 206, Lk. xxiii. 50; fol. 263v., Jn. xix. 38).

All the figures and ornaments are in wash-colours, sometimes barely tinted; the backgrounds are sometimes in different colours.

REMARKS. The miniatures, awkwardly drawn with heavy, hesitant lines on a gold ground, are the work of an unskilled hand. But, in spite of their extreme crudeness, the portraits of the Evangelists are interesting, for they repeat (except for John who is bearded) the engravings of the first Armenian Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1666, and which are marked with the initials of Christopher van Sichem.

Tumarza, south of Caesarea, was an important Armenian settlement and, as late as 1890, the population was entirely Armenian.¹ We have very little information about the early history of this settlement. In 1206 a Gospel was written at the monastery of

¹ Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris, 1890, vol. i, p. 321. The older Armenian churches had disappeared, but a large one had been erected later,

next to the monastery. Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 179-87.

St. John the Baptist at Tumarza.¹ From the 16th to the end of the 18th century, Tumarza was the see of a bishop, and a number of manuscripts were written during this period at the church or monastery of the Theotokos, very few of which seem to have been illustrated.² In a Gospel of the year 1630 the Canon tables are decorated like those of our manuscript, the bases and capitals of the columns are formed by medallions framing human or animal figures.³

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-16, Full-page miniatures; foll. 17v.-18, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 19-26, Canon tables; foll. 27-29, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 30v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 31-90v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 91-92, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 92v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 93-131, Gospel of Mark; foll. 131v.-134, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 134v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 135-99, Gospel of Luke; foll. 199v.-201, Headings and preface of the Gospel of John; fol. 201v., Portrait of John; foll. 202-51, Gospel of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 14.5 × 10.5 cm.; written surface, 9.5 × 6.5 cm.; 2 columns of 24 lines each. 254 folios + 3 paper leaves at the beginning and 3 others at the end.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Small *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist, the first line of each Gospel is in zoomorphic letters against a gold background; the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters. The second and third lines of each Gospel and the initials of the verses are in gold or blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front board and flap covered with silver-gilt filigree work, and studded with silver bosses and green and red stones; in the centre, Christ crucified, in relief (Pl. 64b). End cover from another manuscript, silver-gilt with crowned Virgin and Child in relief at the centre, and heads of the angels in the four corners; border with floral scroll in relief. Plain silver back and two silver chains.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Annunciation.* The angel, holding flowers, approaches from the left; the Virgin stands before her throne; in the background is a ciborium between two rectangular buildings.

Fol. 2. *Adoration of the Magi.* The Virgin, holding the Christ Child, is seated in front of a large, walled city; Joseph stands next to her, leaning on a staff. The Magi hold gold chalices; the first two are kneeling.

¹ A. Alboyadjian, *History of Armenian Caesarea* (in Armenian), 2 vols., Cairo, 1937, p. 1840.

² Ibid., pp. 1855-8, 1867-70, 1872-3, 1876.

³ Venice, no. 1707 (186): Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i, cols. 771-8.



Fol. 3v. *Presentation*. Mary and Joseph, carrying two doves, and Simeon, holding the infant Jesus, stand at the sides of an altar; in the background is a ciborium with two turrets.

Fol. 4. *Baptism*. John in a long tunic and mantle, standing behind a tree on the slope of a hill, baptizes Jesus standing full-face in the water; at the right are two angels. The dove descends from the segment of sky in the centre.

Fol. 5v. *Transfiguration*. Christ is in an oval mandorla between Elijah and Moses, each one standing on a separate peak. In the foreground Peter and James kneel at the sides, John is prostrate in the centre.

Fol. 6. *Raising of Lazarus*. Christ, followed by a compact group of apostles, advances towards Lazarus, standing in a rock-cut tomb; Martha and Mary kneel at His feet. Three Jews stand in the background, in front of a walled city hemmed in by mountains.

Fol. 7v. *Entry into Jerusalem*. Christ, followed by a compact group of apostles, is greeted by a woman holding a child in her arms, and by several men standing in front of a walled city. In the foreground are three children; one of them spreads his garment before the ass's feet, the others hold small branches.

Fol. 8. *Last Supper*. Christ and the apostles are seated at a round table with a cloth draped around the edge. Judas, the second apostle on Christ's left, leans over and takes the morsel from a large bowl in the centre of the table. Behind the high walls of the room can be seen a large ciborium with a dome, flanked by two turrets and two rectangular buildings.

Fol. 9v. *Washing of the Feet*. Christ, kneeling, washes the feet of Peter, who points to his head; the other apostles are seated next to Peter on the same bench. The entire background is filled with a large domed building flanked by two turrets.

Fol. 10. *Betrayal*. Judas, coming from the left, embraces Christ; helmeted soldiers carrying lances and a torch surround them. In the lower right corner Peter, kneeling, raises his sword over Malchus, who lies on the floor and is represented like a small child.

Fol. 11v. *Christ on the way to Golgotha*. In the background, before rocky hills, Simon of Cyrene, carrying a large cross on his left shoulder, has fallen on his knees; in the foreground, Christ, hands bound, is led by a soldier and followed by four other soldiers.

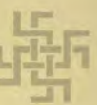
Fol. 12. *Crucifixion*. Christ is nailed to the cross raised over Adam's skull; the Virgin and John stand at the sides. Clouds, drawn in a semicircle, may be seen above the wall, in the background, and, higher up, the sun and the moon.

Fol. 13v. *Resurrection*. Christ, nude save for a loin-cloth and mantle, and surrounded by clouds drawn in a semicircle, rises from the tomb holding a bannered cross. In the foreground two soldiers lie asleep, one on each side of the sarcophagus.

Fol. 14. *Ascension*. Christ is in a circular mandorla borne by two angels. In the foreground stand the Virgin, flanked by two angels who are half hidden by her, and the apostles.

Fol. 15v. *Pentecost*. The Virgin in the centre and the apostles at her sides are seated in front of two buildings; small red lines radiate from the segment of sky. In the foreground, under a large trefoil arch, an aged, crowned figure holds a napkin with both hands.

Fol. 16. *Last Judgement*. Christ is seated in a mandorla; at His sides are the Virgin and John the Baptist standing in the attitude of supplication, and the apostles, seated.



Below, against a starry blue background, Adam and Eve kneel at the sides of an empty throne from which hang the scales; an angel pierces with his lance a small demon who touches one of the trays with a long hook. Four round, cloud-like forms are drawn on the left, and, on the right, the river of fire issuing from Christ's mandorla and running into the open jaws of a dragon; human heads are drawn in the river and, next to it, a small demon. In the foreground Peter, holding two large keys, and followed by a compact group of nimbed men, approaches a walled enclosure inside which is seated Abraham, holding a large cloth with both hands.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 30v.) is seated in front of an architectural setting, with a domed ciborium; the angel stands next to him. The symbols of Mark (fol. 92v.) and Luke (fol. 134v.) crouch at their feet. John (fol. 201v.), seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned to the ray of light on the left, dictates to Prochoros seated at the side of the cave.

Numerous small figures or motifs, connected with the text, are painted in the margins.

In the *Gospel of Matthew*: fol. 31, ancestors of Christ in twelve medallions; above, the Virgin and the Child; below, an angel surrounded by clouds drawn in a semicircle (i. 1); fol. 32v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 32v., the three Magi; two crowned, one with a turban (ii. 1); fol. 34, John the Baptist (iii. 1); foll. 36v., 37v., and 41v., Christ teaching (v. 1, v. 17, vii. 1); fol. 44, Christ and a scribe (viii. 18); fol. 45v., Christ and Levi (ix. 9); fol. 46, Christ and the daughter of Jairus (ix. 18); fol. 46v., Christ and two blind men (ix. 27); fol. 47, Christ teaching (ix. 35); fol. 49v., Christ and one of John's disciples (xi. 1); fol. 51, Christ praying (xi. 25); fol. 52, Christ and the demoniac (xii. 22); fol. 53, Christ and a Pharisee (xii. 38); foll. 54 and 56, Christ teaching (xiii. 1 and 36); fol. 57v., beheading of John the Baptist (xiv. 1); fol. 58, Christ and two apostles (xiv. 13); fol. 60, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 60v., Christ healing the sick (xv. 29); fol. 61v., Christ and a disciple (xvi. 13); fol. 63v., Christ and the lunatic's father (xvii. 14); fol. 67v., Christ and the rich young man (xix. 16); fol. 70, Christ and two blind men (xx. 29); fol. 71, Christ and the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 72, cornfield (xxi. 33); fol. 73v., Christ and a Pharisee (xxii. 15); fol. 75, Christ teaching (xxiii. 1); fol. 77, Christ and two apostles standing before a temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 82, Christ anointed (xxvi. 3); fol. 83, Christ and an apostle (xxvi. 17); fol. 83v., Christ praying (xxvi. 31); fol. 85, Christ arrested (xxvi. 57); fol. 86, Christ before Pilate (xxvii. 1); fol. 89, Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 94v., Christ teaching (i. 21); fol. 95, Christ praying (i. 35); fol. 95v., Christ and the paralytic(?) standing (ii. 1); fol. 96, Christ and Levi (ii. 13); fol. 97, Christ and the apostles in the cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 97v., Christ teaching (iii. 6); fol. 98, Christ and three apostles (iii. 13); fol. 98v., Christ, His mother, and brother (iii. 31); fol. 100v., stilling of the tempest (iv. 35); fol. 102, Christ and Jairus (v. 21); fol. 102v., Christ and Jairus (v. 35); fol. 105, Christ and three apostles (vi. 30); fol. 106, Christ praying (vi. 45); fol. 106v., Christ and a Pharisee (vii. 1); fol. 108, Christ and the deaf and dumb man (vii. 31); fol. 110, Christ and an apostle (viii. 27); fol. 111v., Christ and the demoniac's father (ix. 13); fol. 114, Christ blessing a small child (x. 13); fol. 116, Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 117, a fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 118, a temple (xi. 27); fol. 119v., Christ and two Sadducees (xii. 18); fol. 120v., Christ teaching before the



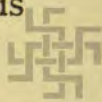
temple (xii. 35); fol. 121, a temple (xiii. 1); fol. 125, Christ and Peter (xiv. 27); fol. 129v., Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: fol. 136v., Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 137, Visitation (i. 39); fol. 139, the Virgin, kneeling, holds the Christ child; Joseph stands behind her (ii. 1); fol. 139v., Annunciation to the shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 140, Presentation (ii. 22); fol. 141, temple (ii. 41); fol. 145v., Christ and the demoniac (iv. 31); fol. 146, Christ teaching (iv. 42); fol. 147, Christ and the leper (v. 12); fol. 147v., Christ teaching (v. 17); fol. 148, Christ and Levi (v. 27); fol. 148v., Christ and a Pharisee (vi. 1); fol. 149v., Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 151v., Christ and the centurion's servant (vii. 1); fol. 152v., Christ and the widow's son (vii. 11); fol. 154, Christ anointed (vii. 36); fol. 156, stilling of the tempest (viii. 22); fol. 158, Christ and two apostles (ix. 1); fol. 160v., Christ and the lunatic and his father (ix. 37); fol. 161, Christ and an apostle (ix. 51); fol. 163v., Christ and the lawyer (x. 25); fol. 164v., Christ praying (xi. 1); fol. 165, Christ and the dumb man (xi. 14); foll. 168v. and 169v., Christ teaching (xii. 13 and 32); fol. 170v., flames rising from a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 171v., Christ and the bent woman kneeling (xiii. 10); fol. 173, Christ and the man with the dropsy (xiv. 1); fol. 177, Christ teaching (xvi. 1); fol. 180v., Christ praying (xviii. 1); fol. 182v., Christ and the blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 184v., Christ and an apostle (xix. 29); fol. 185v., temple (xx. 1); foll. 186 and 186v., Christ teaching (xx. 9 and 20); fol. 187, Christ and a Sadducee (xx. 27); fol. 187v., Christ teaching (xx. 41); fol. 188, Christ sitting on the temple steps and teaching (xxi. 3); fol. 193, Christ and two men (xxii. 66); fol. 196, Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 203v., Christ, the good shepherd (i. 29); fol. 204, Christ and two disciples (i. 35); fol. 204v., Christ and Philip (i. 43); fol. 205, Christ changing the water into wine (ii. 1); fol. 205v., Christ cleansing the temple (ii. 12); fol. 206, Christ and two men (ii. 23); fol. 207, Christ and the serpent raised on a rod (iii. 13); fol. 208, Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well (iv. 1); fol. 209v., Christ and the Samaritan woman (iv. 24); fol. 210, Christ and the ruler (iv. 43); fol. 212, Christ teaching (v. 19); fol. 213v., Christ teaching (vi. 1); fol. 217v., Christ teaching before the temple (vii. 14); foll. 218 and 219, Christ teaching (vii. 24 and 37); fol. 222v., Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 225v., temple (x. 22); fol. 226v., the raising of Lazarus (xi. 1); fol. 229, Christ and a man standing before Him (xi. 47); fol. 230, Entry into Jerusalem (xii. 12); fol. 230v., cornfield (xii. 24); fol. 231, Christ teaching (xii. 27); fol. 232, Christ teaching (xii. 44); fol. 233, Christ teaching (xiii. 16); fol. 235, Christ teaching (xiv. 15); fol. 238, Christ teaching (xvi. 5); fol. 238v., Christ teaching (xvi. 20); fol. 244v., Christ bearing the cross (xix. 17); fol. 246, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38).

The rectangles drawn over the *Letter of Eusebius* are decorated with large flowers, or floral and geometric motifs on a gold ground; Eusebius and Carpius, represented in the lunettes, hold lances. The rectangles over the *Canon tables* have similar large floral motifs; on foll. 23v.-24 an arch is inscribed in the rectangle, and the head and wings of angels are drawn in the spandrels; in the outer margin two lions stand on their hind legs, while on foll. 25v.-26 there are monkeys holding candles.

The *headpiece* of Matthew (fol. 31), with a multifoil arch opening into it, occupies about three-fourths of the page and is filled with three-lobed leaves disposed in chequer-board fashion. The ancestors of Christ in medallions, mentioned above, replace the usual marginal ornament of floral interlaces. The headpiece of Mark (fol. 93) is



decorated with pointed, interlacing ovals; in the headpiece of Luke (fol. 135) two men holding open scrolls appear among the foliage. The Deesis is drawn above the headpiece of John (fol. 202); in the centre is Christ, in bust, holding a globe, at His sides the Virgin and John the Baptist in the attitude of prayer. The heads have been partly trimmed off with the upper margin.

The marginal ornaments of the pericopes consist of simple floral interlaces or birds; these are frequently replaced by the vignettes listed above.

REMARKS. In the portraits of the Evangelists the peculiar manner of draping the mantles, the shape of the bench, the absence of a desk, the types of buildings in the background (except for the ciborium), recall the miniatures of Codex no. 582, illustrated at Akn in 1675 and even more those of Codex no. 581, illustrated at Amida in 1668, for in the latter the symbols of the Evangelists are represented next to them, as they are here. There are also other similarities with the Gospel from Amida: the composition of many of the marginal miniatures; the use of a gold band as a background for the first line of each Gospel, and the somewhat unusual design of the first initial of the Gospel of Matthew, namely, the angel holding a trumpet which forms the loop of the letter *ϩ*. Many of the full-page illustrations are quite close, in their iconography, though not in style, to the corresponding miniatures of the Gospel, formerly in the Sevadjan Collection, no. 3, illustrated at Constantinople in 1650.¹ We find, for instance, in both manuscripts the representation of the Way of the Cross, with Simon of Cyrene carrying the large cross, a scene which is rather rare, though not unknown in Armenian manuscripts;² in the Last Judgement (fol. 16), which follows the Byzantine type, the groups of the blessed appearing above the clouds have been eliminated and only circular clouds remain.³

The similarities with manuscripts written in the 17th century at Akn (Egin), Amida, and Constantinople show that it is easier to determine the date of our Gospel than to assign it to a particular locality. The iconography of the Gospel scenes is characteristic of the 17th century in general: in the Raising of Lazarus the Jews stand before a walled city hemmed in by the mountains; in the Last Supper Christ and the apostles are seated at a round table; the Western type of Christ rising from the tomb and holding a bannered cross has replaced the Byzantine composition of the Harrowing of Hell; in the Pentecost the Virgin is in the upper chamber with the apostles.⁴

A few compositions differ slightly from the usual types. In the majority of the 17th-century Gospels the ancestors of Christ appear in the meanders of the scrolls drawn in the margin of the first pages of the Gospel of Matthew; the composition of our manuscript (fol. 31), crowned with the group of the Virgin and Child, is based on the representation of the Tree of Jesse as it appears in Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century,⁵

¹ Macler, *Documents*, pls. LXXXV–XCIII. See also Jerusalem, nos. 1970 and 2561, illustrated at Constantinople in 1651 and 1654–70.

² *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVII, fig. 202.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 206. The Byzantine type of the Last Judgement, already represented in Cilicia in the 13th century (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxviii), reappears in numerous manu-

scripts of the 17th century; see other examples in Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, fig. 153 and the following manuscripts of Jerusalem: no. 2593 (A.D. 1656); no. 1970 (A.D. 1651); no. 2350 (A.D. 1653); no. 2599 (A.D. 1654); no. 2634 (A.D. 1697–9).

⁴ Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, figs. 108, 122, 125–6, 145, 150, 152; *id.*, *Documents*, figs. 199–200; Jerusalem, nos. 2593, 1970, 2350, 2599, 2634.

⁵ Jerusalem, no. 2568; Etchmiadzin, no. 1035.

but the figure of Jesse has been replaced by a standing angel, surrounded by clouds, whose presence cannot be explained by the Biblical text.

The walled city in the Adoration of the Magi is more characteristic of Western art than it is of Armenian or Byzantine painting.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 5v.-20, Full-page miniatures; foll. 21-22, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 23v.-30, Canon tables; foll. 31-33, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 34v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 35-97v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 98-99, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 99v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 100-42, Gospel of Mark; foll. 142v.-145, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 145v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 146-213v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 214-15, Headings and preface of the Gospel of John; fol. 215v., Portrait of John; foll. 216-64v., Gospel of John.

Lacunae. Fol. 265, Jn. xxi. 23-25 and colophon. Fol. 267 (Jn. i. 1-15) and fol. 268 (Lk. xxiv) belong to another manuscript.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 16.8 × 12 cm.; written surface, 11 × 7.5 cm.; 2 columns of 24 lines. 268 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, stained in places. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist. The first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the second line and the initials of the verses are in gold or blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, blind-tooled; holes for thongs, pegs, and metal cover.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 5v. *Annunciation.* The angel holding a lily approaches from the left; the Virgin stands before her throne, hand raised. The buildings in the background are connected with a drapery.

Fol. 6. *Adoration of the Magi.* The Virgin, holding the Child, is seated on the left; Joseph stands behind her. One of the Magi, kneeling, kisses Christ's feet; his crown is on the ground, next to a gold chalice. The second, also crowned, stands full-face in the background, holding a small gold chalice; both wear long fur-lined mantles. To the right, the third king, dark-faced, wears a turban and a tunic with wide sleeves; he also holds a gold chalice.

Fol. 7v. *Presentation.* The Virgin and Joseph stand to the left of the altar placed before a ciborium; to the right Simeon, bent low, holds the Child. In the background, buildings connected with a drapery.



Fol. 8. *Baptism*. John, wearing a long tunic and mantle, baptizes Christ, who stands full-face in the water. On the right are three angels, one above the other. Three rays of light, with the dove, descend from the segment of sky in the centre; the tree, with the axe, is in the foreground.

Fol. 9v. *Transfiguration*. Christ stands in an oval mandorla inside which a rectangle and a lozenge have been drawn. At His sides the half-figures of Elijah, and of Moses holding the tables of the law, emerge from the clouds; both wear the high-priest's head-dress. Below, at the foot of step-faced mountains, are the three apostles, without nimbs, two kneeling, the third prostrate.

Fol. 10. *The Raising of Lazarus*. Christ, followed by a compact group of apostles, approaches Lazarus standing, shrouded, in the opening of a cave. Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet. In the background, between two mountains, two men stand inside a city gate.

Fol. 11v. *Entry into Jerusalem*. Christ, followed by His disciples, approaches from the right and is greeted by two old men inside a city gate over which can be seen houses. One child spreads his garment under the ass's feet.

Fol. 12. *The Last Supper*. Christ and the disciples are seated around a rectangular table, covered with a cloth partly draped around the edges. Christ is in the centre, next to Him is John, leaning forward on the table, his hand stretched out in a gesture which recalls that of Judas in other examples.

Fol. 13v. *The Washing of the Feet*. The apostles are divided into two groups: on the left, six standing; on the right, three seated on a bench and the others standing. In the centre, Christ, kneeling, with a cloth tied around his waist, holds Peter's leg. In the background is an arched colonnade between two small buildings connected by a drapery.

Fol. 14. *Betrayal*. Judas, approaching from the left, embraces Jesus; around them stand an old man in short tunic, and four helmeted soldiers carrying lances and a torch. In the lower right corner Peter, kneeling, raises his sword; in front of him Malchus, lying on the ground, is represented like a small child.

Fol. 15v. *Christ before Pilate*. Pilate, wearing a red tunic, a green fur-lined coat, and a pointed bonnet is seated in front of a tent; Christ stands between two soldiers, He wears a purple tunic decorated with stars, and a blue mantle.

Fol. 16. *Crucifixion*. Christ on the cross, behind it clouds, in a semicircle, and below the clouds, the sun and moon. The Virgin and St. John stand on either side.

Fol. 17v. *Resurrection*. Christ, wearing a wide red mantle, and holding the bannered cross, rises from a sarcophagus; blue clouds surround Him. A soldier stands on the left, another is asleep in front.

Fol. 18. *Ascension*. Christ, seated in a mandorla borne by two angels, blesses with both hands. Below are the Virgin and the apostles kneeling; the Virgin is turned to the right.

Fol. 19. *Pentecost*. The Virgin, orans, and the apostles are seated in a room; the segment of sky with the dove and tongues of fire appear above the ceiling.

Fol. 20. *Last Judgement*. Christ is enthroned between the Virgin and St. John, in the attitude of supplication; the apostles are seated in a semicircle. Below, against a blue, starry background, Adam and Eve kneel at the sides of the empty throne, and

an angel holds the scales. The river of fire, in which can be seen human heads, issues from Christ's throne and flows into the open jaws of a dragon in the lower right corner. On the left, Abraham is seated inside a rectangular frame, holding a large cloth with both hands; Peter, followed by a group of saints, stands before the gate guarded by a red seraph.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 34v.), Mark (fol. 99v.), and Luke (fol. 145v.), each one holding a book, are seated before an elaborate architectural setting; John (fol. 215v.) is seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned towards the rays of light descending from the segment of sky in the upper left corner. Luke's mantle is knotted at the neck, leaving free his right arm; Matthew's mantle is fastened in front with a brooch.

Numerous marginal miniatures are painted at the beginning of the pericopes. In the *Gospel of Matthew*: foll. 35v.-36, Ancestors of Christ, six roundels on each page with the bust of a nimbed man holding a phylactery (i. 2-17); fol. 36v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 37, the three Magi (ii. 1); fol. 37v., Flight into Egypt (ii. 13); fol. 38, Massacre of the Innocents (ii. 16); fol. 38v., John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 39v., Baptism (iii. 13); fol. 41v., Christ teaching (v. 1); fol. 46v., Christ teaching (vii. 1); fol. 49^a, Christ and the scribe (viii. 18); fol. 49^bv., Christ and Matthew (ix. 9); fol. 50, Christ and the ruler (ix. 18); fol. 50v., Christ and two blind men (ix. 27); fol. 55v., Christ praying (xi. 25); fol. 56^a, Christ and an apostle and a child (xii. 1); fol. 56^b, Christ and the demoniac (xii. 22); fol. 57, Christ and a Pharisee (xii. 38); fol. 62v., Christ and a man standing; in the background two fish (xiv. 13); fol. 64, Christ and a Pharisee (xv. 1); fol. 65, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 65v., Christ healing the blind, the lame, and the maimed (xv. 29); fol. 68v., Christ and the lunatic's father (xvii. 14); fol. 69, Christ and an apostle (xvii. 21); fol. 71v., Christ healing (xix. 1); fol. 72v., Christ and the rich young man (xix. 16); fol. 74v., Christ and a scribe(?) (xx. 17); fol. 75, Christ and two blind men (xx. 29); fol. 76v., Christ and the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 77, a cornfield (xxi. 33); fol. 79, Christ questioned about paying the tribute-money (xxii. 15); fol. 82v., temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 91, Christ arrested (xxvi. 57); fol. 92v., Christ before Pilate (xxvii. 1); fol. 94v., Crucifixion (xxvii. 38); fol. 95v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57); fol. 96v., Angel at the sepulchre (xxviii. 1).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 101v., Christ and the demoniac (i. 21); fol. 102, Christ praying (i. 35); fol. 103, Christ and the paralytic (ii. 1); fol. 103v., Christ and Matthew (ii. 13); fol. 104v., Christ and two apostles (ii. 23); fol. 106, Christ and two men, one cut off by the margin (iii. 20); fol. 106v., Christ, His mother, and brother (iii. 31); fol. 110v., Christ healing the daughter of Jairus (v. 21); fol. 111, Christ healing the daughter of Jairus (v. 35); fol. 112, Christ and the apostles (vi. 6); fol. 114v., Stilling of the tempest (vi. 45); fol. 117, Christ healing the deaf and dumb man (vii. 31); fol. 123v., Christ blesses the children (x. 13); fol. 124v., Christ and Peter (x. 28); fol. 126, Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 127, Christ and the fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 128, temple (xi. 27); fol. 129v., Christ and a Sadducee (xii. 18); fol. 130v., Christ teaching (xii. 35); fol. 131, temple (xiii. 1); fol. 133v., Christ anointed (xiv. 1); fol. 138, Christ before Pilate (xv. 1); fol. 140v., Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: fol. 147v., Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 148v., Visitation (i. 38); fol. 151v., Annunciation to the shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 158v., Christ and the demoniac

(iv. 31); fol. 160, Christ and the leper; Christ and the paralytic (v. 12, 17); fol. 161, Christ and Levi (v. 27); fol. 162v., Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 165, Christ healing the centurion's servant (vii. 1); fol. 165v., Christ and the widow's son (vii. 11); fol. 167v., Christ anointed (vii. 36); fol. 169v., Stilling of the tempest (viii. 22); fol. 174v., Christ healing the lunatic (ix. 37); fol. 177v., Christ and the lawyer (x. 25); fol. 178v., Christ praying (xi. 1); fol. 179v., Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 186, Christ and the bent woman (xiii. 10); fol. 187, Christ teaching (xiii. 22); fol. 188, Christ healing the man with the dropsy (xiv. 1); fol. 194v., Christ praying (xviii. 1); fol. 195v., Christ blessing two children (xviii. 15); fol. 196v., Christ and the blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 200, a corn-field (xx. 9); fol. 201, Christ and a Sadducee (xx. 27); fol. 202v., temple (xxi. 5); fol. 210v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 217v., Christ and John the Baptist (i. 29); fol. 218, Christ and two disciples of John the Baptist (i. 35); fol. 219, Christ turning the water into wine (ii. 1); fol. 219v., temple (ii. 12); fol. 221, Christ pointing to the raised serpent (iii. 13); fol. 223v., Christ and the woman of Samaria (iv. 24); fol. 224v., Christ and the nobleman's son (iv. 43); fol. 225v., Christ and the sick man of Bethesda (v. 1); fol. 231v., Christ teaching at the temple (vii. 14); fol. 232v., Christ teaching (vii. 37); fol. 235v., Christ and a Jew (viii. 31); fol. 237, Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 240v., temple (x. 22); fol. 241, Raising of Lazarus (xi. 1); fol. 243, Christ and a Jew (xi. 47); fol. 245, Christ entering Jerusalem (xii. 12); fol. 246v., Christ teaching (xii. 44); fol. 259v., Christ bearing the cross (xix. 17); fol. 261, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38); fol. 262v., Christ holding the cross, and two apostles (xx. 26).

The rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius*, with the portraits of Eusebius and Carpius under pointed arches, and those over the *Canon tables*, are decorated with large flowers and linear interlaces painted in bright colours against a gold background. Birds, lions, and monkeys are drawn in the outer margins, next to these rectangles, and the usual trees, with birds perched on them, next to the columns. The capitals of the columns are formed by human or animal heads and, occasionally, an angel's head framed by two wings.

The large *headpieces*, with multifoil arches opening into them, are covered with floral scrolls and interlaces. The marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel are based on the usual designs of interlacing palmettes; smaller ornaments of the same type, flowers, and birds accompany the pericopes whenever no figures are represented.

REMARKS. This manuscript, like the preceding one which it closely resembles in style and iconography, is a typical example of the 17th-century Gospels written in different Armenian centres, and illustrated with full-page miniatures and numerous marginal vignettes. Only a few scenes differ from the usual types. The composition of the Ascension (fol. 18), with the Virgin and Apostles kneeling in the foreground, appears already in the late 16th century: in the Hymnal no. 592 of this Collection, dated 1588; in a Gospel illustrated at Khizan in 1589 (Jerusalem, no. 1944); and in a Hymnal illustrated at Zeitun in 1592 (Jerusalem, no. 2359). During the 17th century this iconographic type occurs in manuscripts written at Tokat or Constantinople (Jerusalem, nos. 2634 and 2593). The Judgement scene (fol. 15v.) must represent Christ before Pilate, when Herod, having arrayed Him in a gorgeous robe, sent Him again

to Pilate (Lk. xxiii. 11). In an identical composition represented in a Gospel written at Tokat in 1697 (Jerusalem, no. 2634), the person who is seated in front of the tent is crowned. The crown might have suggested Herod rather than Pilate, but in similar representations in other manuscripts we can have no doubt that the crowned figure represents Pilate, for he is shown washing his hands.¹

In some of the miniatures the contours of the faces, the features and the hair have been retouched with black ink. The full-page miniatures and large ornamental compositions are painted against a gold ground; the predominating colours are red and blue.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH-18TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; foll. 11-12v., Headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 13v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 14-100, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 100v.-101, Headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 101v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 102-58v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 159-60v., Headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 161v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 162-256v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 257-257v., Headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 258v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 259-326, Gospel of John; foll. 326v.-27v., Colophon.

Lacunae. After fol. 327, with the end of the colophon.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.2 × 18.8 cm.; written surface 17.5 × 12.2 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 327 + 3 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Laid paper with watermark of three crescents; gilt edges. Large *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of the Gospel of Matthew is formed by the crowned Virgin holding the Christ child on her right arm and a book in her left hand; the first letters of the Gospels of Mark and John are formed by the symbols of the Evangelists; that of Luke is formed by a wide band of interlace. The first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the initials of the lessons are in gold *erkat'agir*. The words said by the priest before reading the lesson in church, such as 'our Lord Jesus Christ says', are written in small red *bolorgir* at the beginning of each pericope.

BINDING. Modern, red leather, gilt borders and fleurons; back gilt, loose.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th-18th century.

COLOPHON. Foll. 326v.-7v. Long preamble on Christ and the Evangelists; the end, with the information about the copy of the manuscript, is missing.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Matthew (Pl. 62a), Mark (fol. 101v.), and Luke (fol. 161v.) are seated before an architectural background, similar to that of Matthew; their symbols, the lion and the ox, crouch

¹ Jerusalem, nos. 2661 and 2607, illustrated in Constantinople in A.D. 1638 and 1648.

next to them. John and Prochoros (fol. 258v.) are seated in the opening of a cave; John's symbol, the eagle, soars over Prochoros. Small marginal miniatures accompany most of the pericopes. There are 153 such miniatures in all.

In the *Gospel of Matthew*: foll. 14v.-15, Ancestors of Christ; their busts emerge from the flowers of an undulating stem (i. 2-17); fol. 15v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 16, Adoration of the Magi (ii. 1); fol. 17, Flight into Egypt (ii. 13); fol. 18v., John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 19v., Temptation (iv. 1); fol. 20v., Christ teaching (iv. 12); fol. 22, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated, and a man kneeling (v. 1); fol. 23, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated, and a man standing (v. 17); fol. 25v., Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated (vi. 1); fol. 27v., Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated, and a man standing (vi. 22); fol. 28v., Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated (vii. 1); fol. 32, Christ and the scribe (viii. 18); fol. 33v., Christ and Matthew (ix. 9); fol. 34v., Christ and Jairus (ix. 18); fol. 35v., Christ and two blind men (ix. 27); fol. 36, Christ seated (ix. 35); fol. 39v., Christ seated (xi. 1); fol. 41v., Christ praying (xi. 25); fol. 43v., Christ and the demoniac (xii. 22); fol. 45, Christ and a Pharisee (xii. 38); fol. 46, temple (xiii. 1); fol. 51, Beheading of John the Baptist, the executioner's face is erased, (xiv. 1); fol. 52v., Christ and two disciples in a boat (xiv. 22); fol. 55, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 55v., Christ and two men kneeling (xv. 29); fol. 59v., Christ and the lunatic's father (xvii. 14); fol. 60v., Christ, and Peter casting his net (xvii. 21); fol. 62, Christ and a child (xviii. 10); fol. 64, Christ and a Pharisee (xix. 1); fol. 68, Christ, the sons of Zebedee and their mother (xx. 17); fol. 69, Christ and two blind men (xx. 29); fol. 70v., Christ cursing the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 74, Christ questioned about paying tribute (xxii. 15); fol. 79, temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 87, Christ and the woman with a bottle of oil (xxvi. 3); fol. 88, Christ and a disciple (xxvi. 17); fol. 89, Christ, Peter, and the cock (xxvi. 31); fol. 91v., Christ seized by two soldiers, their faces are erased (xxvi. 57); fol. 93, Crucifixion with Mary kneeling and John standing (xxvii. 1); fol. 97v., Joseph of Arimathea kneeling by a sarcophagus (xxvii. 57); fol. 98v., Christ rising from the tomb, holding the bannered cross (xxviii. 1).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 104, Christ and the demoniac (i. 21); fol. 105, Christ and a sick man (i. 35); fol. 106, Christ and the paralytic (ii. 1); fol. 107, Christ and Levi (ii. 13); fol. 108, temple (ii. 23); fol. 112, Christ teaching (iv. 10); fol. 113, Christ standing (iv. 26); fol. 114, Stilling of the tempest (iv. 35); fol. 116, Christ and Jairus (v. 21); fol. 117, Christ and Jairus (v. 35); fol. 118v., Christ seated (vi. 6); fol. 121v., Christ praying (vi. 45); fol. 122v., Christ seated (vii. 1); fol. 123v., Christ and the Syro-Phoenician woman (vii. 17); fol. 124v., Christ and the deaf man (vii. 31); fol. 126, Christ standing (viii. 10); fol. 127, temple (viii. 27); fol. 129v., Christ and the demoniac (ix. 13); fol. 132v., Christ and a Pharisee (x. 1); fol. 133, Christ and a child (x. 13); fol. 134v., Christ and Peter (x. 28); fol. 136, Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 137v., Christ and the fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 139, Christ and a high-priest (xi. 27); fol. 141, Christ and a Sadducee (xii. 18); fol. 143v., temple (xiii. 1); fol. 147, Christ anointed (xiv. 1); fol. 148, Christ and a man carrying a bucket on his back (xiv. 12); fol. 149, Christ, Peter, and the cock (xiv. 27); fol. 153, Crucifixion: Mary kneeling and John standing (xv. 1); fol. 156, Joseph of Arimathea standing next to the sarcophagus placed in front of a cross (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: fol. 164, Annunciation, the Virgin is crowned, the angel holds a flower (i. 26); fol. 165, Visitation (i. 39); fol. 168v., Virgin and child enthroned



(ii. 8); fol. 169v., Presentation (ii. 22); fol. 171, temple (ii. 41); fol. 176, Christ and a man standing (iv. 14); fol. 177v., Christ and the demoniac (iv. 31); fol. 178v., Christ, and Peter casting his net (iv. 42); fol. 179v., Christ and the leper (v. 12); fol. 180, Christ and the paralytic (v. 17); fol. 181, Christ and Levi (v. 27); fol. 182, Christ blesses a man kneeling (vi. 1); fol. 183, Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 186v., Christ and the centurion (vii. 1); fol. 190, Christ anointed (vii. 36); fol. 193, Stilling of the tempest (viii. 22); fol. 196v., Christ and an apostle (ix. 1); fol. 198, Christ and an apostle (ix. 18); fol. 201, Christ (ix. 51); fol. 202, Christ and one of the seventy (x. 1); fol. 204, Christ and the lawyer (x. 25); fol. 206v., Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 208v., temple (xi. 33); fol. 213, Christ and a man standing (xii. 32); fol. 214v., Christ and a man standing (xii. 49); fol. 216v., Christ and the bent woman kneeling (xii. 10); fol. 217v., temple (xiii. 22); fol. 219, Christ and the man with dropsy (xiv. 1); fol. 221, Christ and a man standing (xiv. 25); fol. 224v., Christ and a man standing (xvi. 1); fol. 227v., Christ and a man standing (xvii. 1); fol. 229, Christ and a Pharisee (xvii. 20); fol. 230v., Christ and a man standing (xviii. 1); fol. 231v., Christ and a child (xviii. 15); fol. 233, Christ and a blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 235v., Entry into Jerusalem (xix. 29); fol. 237v., temple (xx. 1); fol. 238, Christ and a man standing (xx. 9); fol. 239v., Christ and a Sadducee (xx. 27); fol. 241v., temple (xxi. 5); fol. 244, Christ seized by two soldiers (their faces are erased), and a man kneeling before Him (xxii. 1); fol. 248v., Crucifixion with the Virgin kneeling and John standing (xxii. 66); fol. 252v., temple (xxiii. 50).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 260, John the Baptist (i. 18); fol. 261, Baptism (i. 29); fol. 261v., Christ standing (i. 35); fol. 262, Christ and Philip (i. 43); fol. 263, Christ turning the water into wine (ii. 1); fol. 263v., temple (ii. 12); fol. 264v., Christ and Nicodemus (ii. 23); fol. 267v., Christ and the woman of Samaria (iv. 1); fol. 270v., Christ and the nobleman (iv. 43); fol. 271v., Christ and the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda (v. 1); fol. 273, Christ and a man standing (v. 19); fol. 274, Christ and a man standing (v. 31); fol. 276v., Christ and an apostle (vi. 22); fol. 280v., Christ seated (vii. 1); fol. 281, Christ seated in the temple (vii. 14); fol. 283, Christ seated (vii. 37); fol. 284, Christ and a Pharisee (viii. 12); fol. 285, Christ and a Jew (viii. 21); fol. 285v., Christ and a Jew (viii. 31); fol. 288, Christ and the blind man (ix. 1); fol. 291v., Christ seated (x. 11); fol. 292v., temple (x. 22); fol. 294, Raising of Lazarus (xi. 1); fol. 301v., Christ and a man standing (xii. 44); fol. 303, Christ seated (xiii. 16); fol. 305v., Christ and a man standing (xiv. 15); fol. 310v., Christ and a man standing (xvi. 20); fol. 311v., Christ seated (xvi. 33); fol. 312v., Christ praying (xvii. 13); fol. 313v., Betrayal, the faces of the soldiers are erased (xviii. 2); fol. 316, Flagellation, the faces of the soldiers are erased (xviii. 28); fol. 318v., Crucifixion with the Virgin kneeling and John standing (xix. 17); fol. 320v., Joseph of Arimathea kneeling by the side of a sarcophagus placed before the cross (xix. 38); fol. 323, Christ stands holding the bannered cross; next to Him, Thomas kneeling (xx. 26); fol. 323v., Peter casting the net (xxi. 1); fol. 325, Christ seated, John standing and Peter kneeling (xxi. 15). Fol. 326v., at the beginning of the Colophon, Christ and the donors: a woman, kneeling, presents a book to Him, behind her stands a turbaned man.

Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables. The rectangles, supported by columns, are decorated with floral motifs interrupted, in the centre, by a medallion, lozenge, or triangle, framing a small figure or vignette. Peacocks, lions, deer, monkeys, take the place of the small trees or plants next to the rectangles. In the Letter of Eusebius we

see the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus as usual; the other figures or vignettes are more unusual: fol. 3v., canon 1, the three-quarter figure of a nude man in the attitude of Christ in the Baptism, but without a nimbe; fol. 4, canon 2, bust of a nimbed man in a chalice(?); fol. 5v., canons 3-4, a bearded man in a sail-boat (Noah?); fol. 6, canon 5, two bearded men facing one another and standing at the sides of a ciborium or temple; fol. 7v., canons 6-7, Moses holding the tables of the Law; fol. 8, canons 8-9, a bearded man; fol. 9v., canon 10, Baptism; fol. 10, canon 10, Christ holding a globe with the cross.

The *headpieces* (Pl. 62b) consist of rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with floral scrolls painted in bright colours against a greenish-gold background. Vases of flowers are drawn under the arches of foll. 162 and 259. The marginal floral ornaments and birds are occasionally replaced by bunches of flowers.

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists, with slightly protruding eyes and dark shadows on the eyelids; their iconographic types, with the angel standing next to Matthew (Pl. 62a), the lion and ox crouching before Mark and Luke, the eagle hovering over John and Prochoros seated in the opening of a cave; finally the backgrounds with buildings appearing above a colonnade, are almost identical with the portraits of a Gospel in the Margossian-Esmérian Collection in Paris, no. 5. Further similarities between these two manuscripts may be noted in the numerous marginal miniatures, in the initial of Matthew formed by the crowned Virgin holding the Christ Child (instead of the angel); in the vignettes drawn in some of the Canon tables, and in the rubric 'our Lord Jesus Christ says' which sometimes precedes the lections. All this shows that the two manuscripts are the products of the same scriptorium although they do not seem to be by the same hand.

The colophon of the Margossian-Esmérian Gospel also begins with a long preamble on Christ and the Evangelists, it gives the name of the owner, the pilgrim Martiros, but unfortunately the end, with the name of the scribe, the date, and the place of the copy, is lost. A brief colophon added by a different scribe reports that this Gospel was offered in 1720 to the monastery of Joachim and Ann at Tokat, recently restored by Martiros, the owner of the manuscript. This Gospel must therefore have been written at Tokat, shortly before 1720.

This is confirmed by another manuscript of the same collection, the Service book no. 24 written at Tokat in 1717 by the scribe Eghia of Marsvan. There are only a few miniatures in this manuscript, a portrait of a bishop and one of a priest, but their style is so close to the illustrations of the Gospel no. 5 that they can be accepted as the work of the same scribe.

On the basis of these two manuscripts we can assign Codex no. 586 to Tokat and date it in the early 18th century or in the last years of the 17th. Connexions with the scriptorium of Tokat are further suggested by the type of initial used for the Gospel of Luke: a wide band of interlace similar to the initials painted by the scribes Mkrtitch and Astvadsatur of Tokat. The deep shadows around the eyes also characterize the style of these two painters.

With a few exceptions, such as the kneeling Virgin in the Crucifixion, or Joseph of Arimathea and other figures also represented kneeling, the marginal miniatures follow



the usual types of the 17th century represented by several manuscripts in this collection. The most interesting elements of the illustrations are the vignettes introduced into the Canon tables and inspired by the symbolical interpretation of the Canon tables.

This text had been composed by the catholicos Nerses the Gracious and in some Cilician manuscripts of the late 12th century we find, above the rectangles of the Canon tables, figures or representations which can only be explained through this symbolical interpretation.¹ Different versions of this text were included in the Gospel manuscripts; we have an example in Codex no. 578, and the scribes of the 16th, and especially the 17th century, sometimes wrote it, in an abbreviated form, under the Canon tables.

According to these brief notations the first canon is an image of the divinity; the second and third figure the angels; the fourth, the paradise of Adam; the fifth, Noah's ark; the sixth, the altar raised by Abraham; the seventh and eighth, the Holy of Holies of Moses and the outer temple; the ninth, the temple of Solomon; the tenth, the holy Church.

There is not always an exact correspondence between the vignettes of our manuscript and the symbolic meaning of the specific canons, but there are sufficient similarities to show a definite attempt to translate into pictorial form the hidden meaning of the canons. Thus in the seventh canon, figuring the Holy of Holies, we see Moses holding the tables of the Law (fol. 7v.); in the tenth canon, which is an image of the holy Church and the reign of God established through the second coming of Christ, we see Christ holding the globe (fol. 10). The old man in a boat (fol. 5v.) must represent Noah but he should have figured over canon 5, instead of over canon 4 which is the image of the garden of Eden.

Similar examples occur in other manuscripts.² A few vignettes have been included, as was mentioned above, in the Canon tables of the Gospel in the Margossian-Esmérian Collection no. 5. Christ holding the Gospel book and God the Father holding a globe are represented in the rectangles of canons 1 and 2; in the outer margin of canon 3 Adam and Eve stand at the sides of the tree with the serpent. In the Gospel illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan in 1608 (Brit. Mus. Or. 5737) the Trinity is substituted for the portrait of Eusebius, in conformity with the brief interpretation written in the lower margin. A seraph is drawn in the lunette of the first canon, and over the rectangle of the eighth canon there is an altar with horns, and birds around it. The explanation written under this canon reads: 'the altar and the doves; some of them look back to the altar; some look ahead. The two horns which figure Moses and Aaron.' These same vignettes appear in the Canon tables of a Gospel of A.D. 1629 (Jerusalem, no. 2348), and, in addition, Noah's ark for canons 2 and 3, the ram hanging from a tree next to canons 4 and 5. In a Bible written at Constantinople between the years 1654 and 1670 (Jerusalem, no. 2561) we find a complete set of images with accompanying

¹ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pp. 58-61. The portraits of the prophets represented in the Canon tables of some Cilician Gospels of the 13th century (e.g. Jerusalem, nos. 251 and 2660; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539) are not connected with these interpretations. A different type is again represented by the Byzantine Gospel in Berlin, Hamilton

246, with the figures of Christ, the Virgin, and saints, and the compositions of the Nativity and the Baptism: J. Ebersolt, 'Miniatures byzantines de Berlin', *Revue archéologique*, 1905, vol. ii, pp. 55-70, figs. 1-5.

² The Trinity is represented in the lunette of the tenth canon of a 17th-century Gospel in Venice, no. 1980: *Pazmaveb*, 1935, nos. 9-12, fig. 37.

explanations: canon 1, the Trinity; canons 2 and 3, angels; canon 4, the Garden of Eden; canon 5, Noah's ark; canon 6, Hospitality of Abraham; canon 7, Aaron and Moses; canon 8, an altar with the tables of the law; canon 9, a temple; canon 10, a church.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; foll. 10v.-12, Headings, concordance, and preface of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 12v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 13-82v., Gospel of Matthew; foll. 83-84, Headings and preface of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 84v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 85-129, Gospel of Mark; foll. 129v.-130v., Headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 131v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 132-201v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 202-53v., Gospel of John.

Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning taken from a Gospel written in angular sloping *erkat'agir*. Two vellum fly-leaves at the end taken from a large Gospel written in rounded *erkat'agir*.

Lacunae. Several leaves between foll. 201 and 202: Lk. xxiv. 47-53; headings, preface, and portrait of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18.5 × 13.5 cm.; written surface, 12 × 9 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 253 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. White vellum, slightly soiled in places. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the first two lines of each Gospel are written in gold and green letters.

BINDING. Pale red velvet over boards fixed with large round studs. Silver plate of 13.5 × 6.2 cm. on front cover with embossed figure of St. Anthony. Four corner heads in brass. Plain silver cross, studded with trefoil ornaments on the end cover, and a short inscription by a certain Arut', with the date 1177 (= A.D. 1728).

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHON. Fol. 253v., a short notice in modern script indicates that the manuscript was given by Arut' to the church of the Holy Cross. This was probably added in 1728, at the time of the binding.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Matthew (fol. 12v.), Mark (fol. 84v.), and Luke (fol. 131v.) are seated, writing, on a cushioned bench; the Hand of God or a ray comes out of the segment of sky in the upper corner. The backgrounds are blue with groups of small white dots. The name of each Evangelist is written under the upper frame.

The rectangles of the *Letter of Eusebius* are decorated with the usual portraits and floral scrolls in white, with touches of pink, against a green background. Those of the



Canon tables have simple geometric or floral designs, drawn in white, touched with red, against a bluish-green background. On foll. 7v. and 8 a polychrome arch, inscribed in the rectangle, frames a floral interlace; canon 8 and the end of canon 10 have not been written in.

The *headpieces* consist of rectangles with trefoil or multifoil arches opening into them, and are decorated with squares and lozenges framing small flowers. On fol. 202 a delicate scroll with flowers formed by small dots covers the rectangle into which opens a pointed, horse-shoe arch. The background of the headpiece on fol. 13 is gold; the other backgrounds are a cherry-red, and gold appears only in parts of the ornaments. The marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel consist of interlacing palmettes painted in various colours and gold; the smaller ornaments of the pericopes and the birds are drawn in red. These are occasionally replaced by motifs connected with the text, such as trees (foll. 59, 60v., 112, 113, 184v., 232), temples (foll. 67v., 114, 118, 190v., 219, 227), and crosses (foll. 78, 125, 194v., 196). On fol. 205 six vases disposed in two rows illustrate the reading of the Marriage at Cana (Jn. ii. 1); a bird with a cross nimb is drawn in the margin of fol. 237v. (Jn. xiv. 15).

REMARKS. The ornaments of the headpieces, the first initial of each Gospel are much more carefully drawn than those of the Canon tables and the portraits of the Evangelists. The seat of the Evangelists is awkwardly represented. The coloured area, limited by a narrow frame, drawn around the cushion and occupying the entire width of the miniature, looks like a rug, but it may be a stylization of a bench. There is no desk or lectern.

The drawing and the colours, in particular the cherry-red and purple, the green tunic and yellow mantle of Mark are indicative of a late date, and the manuscript was probably written in the latter part of the 17th century.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; foll. 11-13v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Matthew; foll. 14-95, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 95v.-96v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; foll. 97-143, Gospel of Mark; foll. 143v.-145v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; foll. 146-221v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 222-3v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; foll. 224-79v., Gospel of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 13 × 9.5 cm.; written surface, 8.5 × 5.5 cm.; 2 columns of 23 lines each. 279 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Fine, white vellum. Small *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel (except Luke) is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters. Inspector's seal in Persian, with the date A.H. 1318 on the first and last pages.



BINDING. Silver-gilt with hinges. In high relief, on front cover, Christ, beardless, seated within flower scrolls, holding the lamb and the shepherd's crook; on end cover Christ, beardless, standing within foliage scrolls, blessing and holding the globe with the cross. Flower design also on the hinge.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHON. None.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The rectangles of the *Letter of Eusebius* and of the *Canon tables* are decorated with large floral motifs, tinted pink, and drawn against a red or blue background. The trees or birds at the sides have been replaced by lions standing on their hind legs and holding a book, on foll. 7v.-8, and by monkeys holding a candle, on foll. 9v.-10. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpius have not been represented. The floral motifs of the *headpieces* are similar to those of the *Canon tables*, but they are painted in different colours against a gold background. Two sirens mingle with the foliage in the headpiece on fol. 224.

The marginal ornaments consist of simple floral designs or birds; the only figure is the head of John the Baptist on a platter on fol. 111v.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH-18TH CENTURIES

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3-9, Canon tables; foll. 10-11, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 12v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 13-73, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 73-74, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 74v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 75-112v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 112v.-113v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 114v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 115-77v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 177v.-8v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 179v., Portrait of John; foll. 180-225v., Gospel of John.

Lacunae. Between foll. 2 and 3, with the first canon; fol. 3 has the title of canon 2, but the verses have not been written in.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 15 × 10.5 cm.; written surface, 10 × 7 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 225 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Small irregular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters, the initials of the verses in gold or blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Light-brown stamped leather over boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th-18th centuries.

COLOPHON. Fol. 11, by a later hand, in *notrgir*: 'This Gospel is a memorial of the tailor Paghtasar of Aleppo, son of Khatchatur, on the mountain of Lebanon, in the



newly-built monastery of the Saviour belonging to the truth-loving Armenians.¹ God have mercy on the souls of his parents. In the year of the Armenians 1175 (= A.D. 1726), on the 21st of the month of January. By the hand of Ter Hakob.' Fol. 225v., seal of the Andonian monastery of Ortakeuy near Constantinople. In the front cover, Catalogue indication of the library of this monastery by the hand of the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Portraits of the Evangelists.* Matthew (fol. 12v.), Mark (fol. 74v.), and Luke (fol. 114v.) are seated writing or meditating, in front of an architectural setting; John and Prochoros are seated in the opening of a cave (fol. 179v.). John holds an open scroll in his left hand, Prochoros dips his pen in an ink-pot.

The *Letter of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* are written under narrow rectangles filled with floral motifs tinted blue, red, or orange. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are drawn under pointed arches which cut the upper frame of the rectangle. The *head-pieces* are Π -shaped or consist of rectangles with an arch opening into them; they are decorated with floral scrolls, or floral motifs forming squares, tinted blue, red, or orange, and drawn against a pale green background. The eagle, holding a book, is perched on the headpiece of the Gospel of John. No gold has been used. The usual large ornaments of interlacing palmettes are drawn in the outer margin of the first page of each Gospel; the smaller floral ornaments of the pericopes are occasionally replaced by other motifs, such as trees (foll. 98, 99, 163, 207; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29; Jn. xii. 12); temples (foll. 59, 167; Mt. xxiv. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); crosses (foll. 68v., 109, 172, 218v.; Mt. xxvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xviii. 28); and Jonah in the mouth of the whale (fol. 35v., Mt. xii. 38).

REMARKS. The Evangelists, with their long narrow faces, light complexions, and some with narrow, slit eyes, differ from those represented in other manuscripts. The drawing is very awkward; the figures are precariously balanced on the benches placed diagonally. Thin white lines indicate the folds of the garments, and white dots are drawn around the gold nimbs and along the hems of the garments. Thin white lines and dots are also drawn on the buildings, the rocks, and in general over the entire background, the lower part of which is usually painted in different shades of grey, pale green, and blue, while the upper part is gold.

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PSALTER

DATED A.D. 1625

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1v., Miniature; foll. 2-24, Psalms, i-xvii; foll. 24-28v., Canticle of Moses (Exod. xv. 1-19); foll. 29-56v., Pss. xviii-xxxv; foll. 56v.-61, Canticle of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1-21); foll. 61v.-93v., Pss. xxxvi-liv; foll. 93v.-98v., Canticle of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 22-43); foll. 99-126, Pss. lv-lxxi; foll. 126-9v., Canticle

¹ The expression 'the truth-loving Armenians' probably means the Armenian Roman Catholic congregation.

of Hannah (I Sam. ii. 1-10); foll. 130-63, Pss. lxxii-lxxxviii; foll. 163v.-165, Canticle of Isaiah (Isa. xxvi. 9-20); foll. 165v.-194v., Pss. lxxxix-cv; foll. 195-196v., Canticle of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 10-20); foll. 197-227v., Pss. cvi-cxviii; foll. 227v.-229, Canticles of Isaiah and Jonah (Isa. xlii. 10-20; Jonah ii. 3-10); foll. 229v.-258, Pss. cxix-cxlvii; foll. 258-60v., Canticle of Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 1-19); foll. 261-3, Pss. cxlviii-cl; foll. 263v.-264, Supplementary Ps. cli; foll. 264-6v., Prayer of Manasseh (Apocryphal); foll. 266v.-267v., Canticle of the Virgin (Lk. i. 46-55); foll. 267v.-268v., Canticles of Zacharias and Simeon (Lk. i. 68-79; ii. 9-32); foll. 268v.-272v., Canticle of the Three Children (Dan. iii. 26-88); foll. 273-8, Prayer of St. Nerses the Gracious for the twenty-four hours of the day (*Havadov khostovanim*); foll. 278-81, Colophon.

Lacunae. Two leaves between foll. 280 and 281 with large part of the Colophon.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 10 × 7.5 cm.; written surface 6.3 × 4 cm.; single column of 16 lines. 281 folios plus one blank folio at the beginning and three others at the end.

PAPER AND WRITING. Fine white vellum. *Notygir* in black ink. Ornate initials for each Psalm and Canticle; the first two lines of each canon and the other initials are in red or blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front cover with blind-tooled centre of interlacing ovals and cord border; interlacing bands on end cover. Holes for pegs and thongs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in A.D. 1625 by a scribe native of Poland.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 129v. 'I beseech you, noble brother, remember in the Lord the sinful scribe, a native of Poland (Lehtsi) and my parents.'

Foll. 278-80v. Long preamble on the Psalter. On the last lines of fol. 280v.: 'In the year of the Armenians 1074 (= A.D. 1625) during the prelacy in Cilicia of the catholicos Ter Minas' (folios missing). Fol. 281, 'the scribe and my parents and all my family, and Christ God who is bountiful in His good gifts may He have mercy on you who remember and on us who are remembered. And glory to Him forever and ever. Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *David*, crowned, seated full-face, and playing the lute. Small marginal figures accompany all the Canticles with the exception of the Canticles which follow the Supplementary Psalm. Fol. 24, *Miriam* playing a tambourine; fol. 56v., *Moses*, beardless, hands raised; fol. 93v., *Moses*, beardless, holding a staff; fol. 126, *Hannah*, praying; fol. 163v., *Isaiah*, holding an open scroll; fol. 195, *Hezekiah*, kneeling; fol. 227v., *Isaiah*, holding an open scroll; fol. 258, *Habakkuk*, holding an open scroll.

On fol. 80v., a young man, dancing, is drawn next to Ps. xlvii; and on foll. 17 and 110 a small temple next to Pss. xv and lxiv. Small marginal ornaments, tinted in red, accompany the other Psalms.

The large headpiece of fol. 2 and the narrow bands on foll. 29, 61v., 99, 130, 165v., 197, 229v. are decorated with simple floral motifs. No gold has been used, and the figures are rather crudely drawn.

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PSALTER

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 4-13, Commentary on the Psalms by Epiphanius of Cyprus; fol. 15v., Miniature; foll. 16-39, Psalms i-xvii; fol. 39v., Miniature; foll. 40-43, Canticle of Moses (Exod. xv. 1-19); fol. 43v., Miniature; foll. 44-69v., Ps. xviii-xxxv; fol. 70, Miniature; foll. 70v.-74, Canticle of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1-21); fol. 74v., Miniature; foll. 75-103v., Ps. xxxvi-liv; fol. 104, Miniature; foll. 104v.-109, Canticle of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 22-43); fol. 109v., Miniature; foll. 110-34, Ps. lv-lxxi; fol. 134v., Miniature; foll. 135-7, Canticle of Hannah (I Sam. ii. 1-10); fol. 137v., Miniature; foll. 138-69, Pss. lxxii-lxxxviii; fol. 169v., Miniature; foll. 170-2, Canticle of Isaiah (Isa. xxvi. 9-20); fol. 172v., Miniature; foll. 173-201, Pss. lxxxix-cv; fol. 201v., Miniature; foll. 202-5, Canticle of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 10-20); fol. 205v., Miniature; foll. 206-33, Pss. cvi-cxviii; fol. 233v., Miniature; foll. 234-6v., Canticles of Isaiah and Jonah (Isa. xlii. 10-20; Jonah ii. 3-10); fol. 237v., Miniature; foll. 238-64, Pss. cxix-cxlvii; fol. 264v., Miniature; foll. 265-8v., Canticle of Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 1-19); fol. 269, Miniature; foll. 269v.-271v., Pss. cxlviii-cl; fol. 272, Miniature; foll. 272v.-273, Supplementary Ps. cli; fol. 273v., Miniature; foll. 274-6, Prayer of Manasseh (Apocryphal); fol. 276v., Miniature; foll. 277 and 279v., Colophons in later hand.

Lacunae. Several folios after fol. 276, with the Canticles of the Three Children, of the Virgin, of Zacharias and Simeon. Foll. 1-3v., 13v.-15, and 277v.-279 are left blank but no text is missing.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 10 × 7.5 cm.; written surface, 6.5 × 4.4 cm.; 1 column of 17 lines. 279 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin, cream vellum. Small, regular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of the first canon is written in zoomorphic letters against a gold band. The initials of the Psalms and Canticles are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the first line, or the first two lines of each canon are written in gold and blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, with flap, ivory thongs, and leather straps. Front cover with a border of stamped star-circles, centre of four interlacing lozenges, and quatrefoils with two fleurons at each end. End cover, border of interlacing squares, lozenges, and quatrefoils; four leaves in centre flap with stamped fleurons.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 277, in a different hand from that of the text: 'The Psalter is a memorial of the penitent Hrip'simé for the use of my son Gaspar, in the year 1140 (= A.D. 1691).' Fol. 279v.: short inscription in *notrgir* asking for prayers and blessings; no name or date.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 15v., Ps. i, *David*, crowned, seated with a musical instrument on his knees.



Fol. 39v. Canticle of Moses, *Crossing of the Red Sea*. Moses, accompanied by Aaron, touches the water with a golden rod; on the left the heads and busts of five horsemen emerge from the water.

Fol. 43v. Ps. xviii, *David frees a lamb from the jaws of a lion*. Pl. 55a.

Fol. 70. Canticle of Moses, *Moses* stands before a rocky background and holds an open scroll.

Fol. 74v. Ps. xxxvi, *David*, crowned, seated before an organ.

Fol. 104. Canticle of Moses, *Moses* stands in front of rocky hills and holds a bowl from which rise flames.

Fol. 109v. Ps. lv, *David slaying Goliath*. Pl. 55c.

Fol. 134v. Canticle of Hannah, *Hannah and Eli*. Eli is seated on a high throne and stretches his hands towards Hannah kneeling before him. Ciborium in the background behind Hannah.

Fol. 137v. Ps. lxxii. *David* seated as on fol. 15v.

Fol. 169v. Canticle of Isaiah, *Isaiah* stands in front of rocky hills, holding an open scroll.

Fol. 172v. Ps. lxxxix, *Judgement scene*. Pl. 55b.

Fol. 201v. Canticle of Hezekiah, *Hezekiah and Isaiah*. Hezekiah lies in his bed in front of a small building with five steps leading to an arched opening; Isaiah stands at the foot of the bed in front of another small building.

Fol. 205v. Ps. cvi, *David*. Pl. 55e. Inscription on the scroll: 'The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou at my right hand.'

Fol. 233v. Canticle of Isaiah, *Isaiah* stands in front of rocky hills, holding an open scroll.

Fol. 237v. Ps. cxix, *David offering a burnt sacrifice*. Pl. 55f.

Fol. 264v. Canticle of Habakkuk, *Habakkuk* stands in front of rocky hills, holding an open scroll. In the upper corner, above the rocky background, a segment of sky with Christ on the cross; the colours are partly flaked off.

Fol. 269. Ps. cxlviii, *Zechariah* stands in front of rocky hills, holding an open scroll.

Fol. 272. Ps. cli, *David slaying Goliath*. Pl. 55d.

Fol. 273v. Prayer of Manasseh, *Manasseh*, crowned, kneels in front of a mound.

Fol. 276v. *The Virgin* stands full-face, with crossed hands, in front of rocky hills.

The eight canons into which the Psalter is divided begin each with an ornate head-piece, usually Π -shaped and decorated with geometric interlaces and floral designs on a gold background; interlacing palmettes, sometimes emerging from a vase, are drawn in the margins.

REMARKS. The usual practice in Armenian Psalters is to illustrate the Canticles which follow the eight canons, i.e. the major divisions of the Psalter, by representing either the author of the Canticle or its content, such as the Crossing of the Red Sea, or Hezekiah ill in bed. The portrait of David is sometimes placed at the beginning of the Psalter, before canon 1, and David slaying Goliath illustrates the supplementary Psalm cli.¹

To this group of miniatures the illustrator of our Psalter has added several portraits

¹ G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, 'Le Psautier arménien illustré', *Revue des études arméniennes*, ix (1929), 137-81.

and scenes: the portraits of David before canons 3, 5, and 7; scenes from the life of David before canons 2, 4, and 8; a Judgement scene before canon 6; the portrait of Zechariah before Ps. cxlviii. A similar system may be seen in a few other Psalters of the 17th century, though the additional miniatures are always portraits and never any scenes.¹

The illustrations of the Canticles and of the last Psalm (Pl. 55*d*), the portraits of David (Pl. 55*e*), and of Zechariah are all painted in the style of the 17th century which imitates the Cilician works of the 13th and 14th centuries. The figures are somewhat stiffer than the earlier examples, they fill the entire height of the miniatures, and the background settings are simple and conventionalized (Pl. 55*d*). The close imitation of an earlier model becomes quite evident when we compare the scenes of Isaiah and Hezekiah, of David and Goliath (Pl. 55*d*) and the portraits, with the corresponding miniatures of the Segredakis Psalter, now in the Freer Gallery in Washington.²

The episodes from the life of David and the Judgement scene (Pl. 55*a-c, f*), though the work of the same painter, are in an entirely different style, and the difference is particularly striking when we confront the two representations of David and Goliath (Pl. 55*c* and *d*). An elaborate composition has replaced the scene reduced to its essentials: the armies and their tents fill the background; David and Goliath are represented a second time in the distance, while in the foreground we see David, who leaves the battlefield holding in his hand the severed head of Goliath. The attempts to indicate the distant planes, to give lively action, also noticeable in the scene of David with the lion (Pl. 55*a*), contrast with the two-dimensional compositions and the stiff figures of the other miniatures.

The scene of David offering a burnt sacrifice (Pl. 55*f*) bears a superficial likeness to the Penitence of David which, in Byzantine Psalters, illustrates Ps. li. But the episode illustrated here is the prayer of David before the altar erected on the threshing-floor of Araunah; the prophet Gad stands next to him, and the angel of pestilence flies down holding in one hand a sword, in the other a spindle-like object which is a faulty copy of the skull and whip (II Sam. xxiv. 15-25).³ I have not been able to identify the Judgement scene (Pl. 55*b*). The centre figure, seated under a canopy, wears a long mantle over his military costume and a turban-shaped hat; he holds a long club in his right hand, and with the left he pushes away a man who looks backward; another man, wearing a turbaned hat, stands on the left. The throne, raised on a platform, has two awkwardly drawn caryatids at the sides, a decoration frequently used on pieces of furniture during the second half of the 16th century in Italy and other European countries.

These four representations, which have no definite connexion with the accompanying Psalms, are clearly derived from a model other than the one used for the remaining miniatures, and this model must have been a Bible, for in several Bibles of the 17th

¹ For instance Venice, San Lazzaro, nos. 508/39 and 123/36, written in 1662 and 1668. In other Psalters, for instance Venice, no. 1238/43, written in 1629 at Constantinople, Vienna, no. 393 dated 1690, and a manuscript in Moscow, episodes from the life of David and New Testament scenes illustrate some of the Psalms: Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, I, cols. 219-22, 211-14, 231-42; Millet and Der Nersessian, op. cit., pp. 147-8.

² G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., pls. I-VIII.

³ See also I Chr. xxi. 7-30. An earlier example of this scene appears on the ivory covers of the Melisenda Psalter: O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era... of the British Museum*, London, 1909, pl. xv and p. 23.

century these identical scenes are grouped together on a single page before the Book of Psalms.

The ultimate source of these compositions was a European Bible with engravings which also provided to the Armenian Bibles the models for the Creation scenes, four episodes from the life of Jonah grouped together like the David scenes, and the illustrations of the Apocalypse,¹ but the immediate source must have been an Armenian manuscript. Two of the Bibles with this type of illustration were written at Ispahan in A.D. 1643–6 (Jerusalem, no. 1934) and in A.D. 1648 (Venice no. 623/3);² two others, dated in 1648 (Jerusalem, no. 1928) and 1661 (Philippopolis, Coll. Aramian) can also be assigned to Ispahan–New Julfa for various reasons.³ It seems probable, therefore, that our Psalter was also illustrated at Ispahan–New Julfa towards the middle of the 17th century.

The remaining miniatures of the Psalter in no way contradict this attribution and date. Cilician models of the 13th–14th centuries were frequently imitated at this time and in this city, and the influence of such models is evident in the ornaments of our manuscript and, to a lesser extent, in the miniatures. In the proportions of the figures, the modelling of the draperies, and the facial types we can find definite analogies with some of the miniatures of Codex no. 578 illustrated at Ispahan in 1655, though the two manuscripts are not the work of the same painter.

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HYMNAL

DATED A.D. 1588

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The hymns are arranged in canons proper to the days of the liturgical calendar.⁴ The principal divisions are indicated by the use of large headpieces, and they are preceded by appropriate illustrations: fol. 3v., Joachim and Ann; fol. 4, Canon of Joachim and Ann; fol. 147v., Holy Women at the Sepulchre; fol. 148, Canon of the Resurrection; fol. 199v., Pentecost; fol. 200, Canon of Pentecost; fol. 260v., Christ in glory; fol. 261, Canon of the Eve of Holy Cross. Narrow decorated bands serve as headpieces for the following canons: fol. 13v., Theophany of the Lighting of Lamps; fol. 36, Magnificat of the Resurrection; fol. 41v., Presentation; fol. 64, *Barekendan* (Shrove Tuesday); fol. 118, Raising of Lazarus; fol. 281, Holy Prophets; fol. 330v., Holy Martyrs; fol. 354v., Those that have fallen asleep in Christ;

¹ See Introduction, pp. xl–xli.

² *Keghouni*, Venice, 1947, p. 20. The four scenes are grouped in the following manner in these Bibles: upper left, David freeing the lamb; lower left, David slaying Goliath; upper right, Judgement scene; lower right, David offering a burnt sacrifice. This is also the order in which the four scenes follow one another in our Psalter.

³ H. Oskian, 'Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in Bulgaria' (in Armenian), *Handes Amsorya*, li (1937), cols. 570–4. Bible written in 1661 by the scribes Harut'iun and Hohannes. The four scenes

from the life of David are not described, but they were probably similar to those represented in the other Bibles which have been listed above, for the illustrations follow the same general scheme: the Genesis scenes are grouped on three pages at the beginning; four scenes on a single page precede the Book of Jonah; there are two scenes of the life of Daniel, and several miniatures illustrate the Book of Revelation.

⁴ For the usual composition of the Armenian Hymnal and the list and order of the hymns, see F. C. Conybeare, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pp. 96–104.



fol. 386, Of the Resurrection. Full-page miniatures accompany two of the above-named canons on foll. 14 and 118v., and there are several others opposite canons which have no headpiece: fol. 18, Birth of Christ; fol. 120v., Palm Sunday; fol. 134v., Great Friday; fol. 143v., Great Sabbath of the Lord's Burial; fol. 184v., Ascension; fol. 248, Dormition of the Virgin.

Colophons on foll. 146v., 260, 280v., 330, 385v., 408, 409v., 411, 412v.-416v. Love poem written by a later hand on foll. 411v.-412.

Foll. 1-3, 14v., 18v., 147, 199 are left blank, but there are no lacunae in the text. Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and the end taken from a large Gospel in angular *erkat'agir*.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 12 × 8.5 cm.; written surface 8 × 5.5 cm.; single column of 21 lines. 416 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper. Small *bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of each section and the first letter of each hymn are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the other initials are in gold or red uncials. Musical notations throughout.

BINDING. Dark-brown stamped leather on boards, with flap and two leather straps. The back has been loosened and is held together with a piece of sheepskin.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Illustrated in 1588 by Sargis of Mok's, for Hohannes of Hasgegh.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 3v., under the miniature, in *notrgir*: 'Remember the painter of this, Sargis of Mok's.'

Fol. 146v. 'Remember in Christ the false cleric from Mok's and the owner of the book, Ter Hohannes and his parents, who serve us well, feeding us. May the Lord feed them with the heavenly bread. Amen.'

Fol. 260, in *notrgir*, 'In the year 1265 (= 1816), I, *tiratsu* Gaspar of Baghesh, having come to the village called T'erdjan, to the house of the priest Ter Manuk and having seen this Hymn book, I liked it(?) and wrote the date. You who read this say "Have mercy" and may God have mercy upon you, Amen.'

Fol. 280v. 'Remember in the Lord the scribe and the owner Ter Hohannes of Hasgegh.'

Fol. 330. 'Remember the scribe, beloved Lord, Lord.'

Fol. 385v. 'Lord, Lord, remember the miserable cleric, the scribe.'

Fol. 408. 'Blessed be God who from torments brought me to rest. Glory a thousand-fold to God, lover of men. The year 1037 (= A.D. 1588), on Friday, the feast of the Ninevites. Tomorrow night is the feast of Sargis the general.'

Fol. 409v. 'Glory to the indivisible and united Holy Trinity, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, now and forever. Who gave the power to my weak fingers to reach the end of the Hymn-book which has been composed and arranged by the holy *vardapets* for the praise of the saints of God and the glorification of the most Holy Trinity. In the year 1037 (= A.D. 1588), during the difficult and bitter times when we are in the hands of the nation of archers.'



On the last folios there are crude scribblings by various owners with the dates 1238 (= A.D. 1789), 1247 (= A.D. 1798), 1260 (= A.D. 1811).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 3v. *Joachim and Ann.* Ann stands in prayer next to a tree with a nest of swallows; an angel appears in the segment of sky. Joachim, holding an open scroll, stands in the doorway of a simple building. The frame is formed by a square and two intersecting octagons. Inscription: see Colophons.

Fol. 14. *Annunciation.* The angel approaches from the left; the Virgin is seated on the right in front of a small building; between them is a small construction with a conical dome. The dove, in a large ray of light, descends diagonally from the segment of sky on the left.

Fol. 18. *Nativity.* The Virgin is seated, holding Christ in the manger; adoring angels above. Three Magi advance from the right carrying gold caskets; two are crowned, the third points to the star. On the left Joseph, standing, points to the Virgin.

Fol. 118v. *Raising of Lazarus.* Christ and the disciples approach from the left; Martha and Mary kneel at His feet. Lazarus stands in the opening of the tomb; a young man holds the end of the shroud; another, in the foreground, carries the slab of stone on his shoulder.

Fol. 120v. *Entry into Jerusalem.* Christ, followed by four disciples, is greeted by two old men standing in front of a small building. A child spreads his garment under the ass's feet; another is sitting in a tree and cutting a branch.

Fol. 134v. *Crucifixion.* Christ is nailed to the cross, raised in the narrow space between two hills. A helmeted soldier, holding a large sword in his left hand, pierces Christ's side with his lance; on the right stand John and Mary.

Fol. 143v. *Entombment.* Christ's body, lying on a slab, is carried by two men; two women stand behind them, partly cut off by the frame. In the background is a large cross, raised on a mound and flanked by two candles. Segments of sky, with an angel's wing projecting from each, are drawn in the upper angles.

Fol. 147v. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre.* Three women, carrying lamps, stand in front of a small domed building. The angel, seated on a large stone, in the centre, points to the shrouds in the empty sepulchre. In the foreground three sleeping soldiers sit huddled close together; a shield and other arms lie on the ground.

Fol. 184v. *Ascension.* Christ rises to heaven, blessing with both hands, surrounded by four small angels, and clouds drawn in a semicircle. Below, the apostles are kneeling, some are seen from the back; the Virgin, also kneeling, is at the back of the group on the left.

Fol. 199v. *Descent of the Holy Ghost.* The Virgin, seated, and the apostles kneeling, are in a high chamber, with a door opening into the rusticated wall in the foreground. Intersecting, pointed arches, rising from six columns, support a ribbed, bulbous dome. Above the Virgin's head is the dove in a medallion; there are no rays or tongues of fire.

Fol. 248. *Dormition.* Three apostles, one of them holding a censer, surround the Virgin's body, lying on a couch; in the centre, behind the couch, Christ, in a mandorla, holds in His arms the soul of the Virgin; two angels fly down towards Him. The Jew

Jephonias stands, full-face, in the foreground; his hands and arms, severed at the elbows, are seen on the edge of the Virgin's bed.

Fol. 260v. *Christ in Glory*. Decorated cross, raised on two steps. A large medallion, at the crossing of the two arms, frames the seated figure of the youthful Christ holding a book, and blessing. The heads and arms of four trumpeting angels project from the medallion and fill the angles of the cross. At the foot of the cross are two kneeling figures, one on each side; they probably represent the owner of the manuscript and the scribe.

Several small figures, connected with the hymns, are painted in the outer margins at the beginning of the canons: fol. 10v., the angel of the Annunciation; fol. 24v., the archangel Gabriel; fol. 36, Virgin, in bust, orans; fol. 44v., Anthony, hermit, kneeling; fol. 46v., Theodosius, emperor; fol. 49, David, kneeling; fol. 50v., Stephen, the proto-martyr, kneeling: six stones are drawn around his head and rays descend from the segment of sky; fol. 53v., Peter and Paul, in bust; fol. 62, Jonah in the whale's mouth; fol. 76v., the Good Shepherd, in bust; fol. 94, the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia: only their heads are visible, placed in a large bowl; above are the forty crowns in three rows, and the segment of sky with the profile head of Christ under it; fol. 103v., Gregory the Illuminator, kneeling; fol. 118, Lazarus, shrouded, lying on the marginal ornament; fol. 126v., one of the wise virgins seated, crowned, holding a candle in each hand; fol. 154, the head of John the Baptist on a platter; fol. 210v., the dove of the Holy Ghost flying down towards a ewer (illustration of the first words of the hymn for the sixth day after Pentecost); fol. 212, Bird with cross nimb; fol. 221v., Gregory the Illuminator; fol. 229v., Hrip'simé, crowned, holding a cross; fol. 239, Christ in a mandorla; fol. 281, Prophet; fol. 285, Mesrob *vardapet* kneeling; fol. 289, Seraph holding a rhipidion with the words 'holy, holy, holy, Lord'; fol. 291v., Jacob of Nisibis.

The large *headpieces* of the principal divisions are Π -shaped, or consist of rectangles with a multifoil arched opening decorated with floral motifs which are usually arranged to form a geometric pattern. Occasionally sirens appear among the foliage. On fol. 4 the youthful Christ, seated and blessing, is represented in a roundel in the middle of the headpiece of the canon of Joachim and Ann. Confronted birds, at the sides of a chalice, are drawn above the headpieces and large floral ornaments, crowned with a cross, fill the outer margins. The smaller headpieces are narrow bands decorated with floral scrolls. A small marginal ornament marks the beginning of each canon or hymn whenever it is not replaced by a vignette. In addition to the miniatures listed above, there are a number of crosses, trees, and small temples connected with the hymns, such as those which are sung on the week of the Holy Cross, the Monday after Palm Sunday, or on the feast of the Holy Tabernacle.

REMARKS. The painter Sargis, a native of Mok's, a province south of Lake Van bordering on the province of Khizan, is known through other works, and the colophons of these manuscripts provide us with specific information about him. He was the son of Hohannes and T'urvand, and he had three brothers, Avetis, Alexander, and Hohannes. The first brother died in 1588, the second, who was a painter like Sargis, died two years later.¹ Sargis, surnamed Mazman, was a pupil of Martiros of Khizan,² the

¹ Lalayan, *Catalogue*, col. 710-11, 731-2.

² Ibid., col. 711.

illustrator of Codex no. 573, and he, in turn, was one of the teachers of Mesrop of Khizan, the illustrator of Codex no. 576.¹ He must have started working during the third quarter of the 16th century, but no manuscript earlier than this Hymnal of the year 1588 is known so far. This same year, together with his brother Alexander, he began copying and illustrating a Gospel which was completed in 1590 and had twenty full-page miniatures, in addition to the portraits of the four Evangelists.² Two years later, working at the village of Bolents, in the province of Mok's, he illustrated another Gospel with eighteen full-page miniatures and the portraits of the Evangelists.³ Another Gospel begun in 1591 was completed in 1595; it had the same number of illustrations as the preceding one.⁴ His richest work appears to have been the Gospel of 1599, which had twenty-five full-page miniatures and the portraits of the Evangelists.⁵ The place of copy is not mentioned, but either before 1599, or shortly after, Sargis had gone to Van, where he started illustrating another Gospel; a colophon, dated 1602, informs us that Sargis died before he could finish his work and it was completed by his pupil.⁶ Sargis had also begun to copy a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, which was completed by other scribes in 1603 (Jerusalem, no. 234).

The above-named manuscripts were kept, until the First World War, in various monasteries in the region of Lake Van, and I do not know whether any of them escaped destruction. At the present time the Hymnal is our only source for a study of Sargis as a painter. The illustrations show the somewhat debased style of the late 16th century and come closest to the paintings of his namesake, Sargis of Khizan, the brother of his teacher Martiros, in particular to the miniatures of a Hymnal dated A.D. 1596.⁷

The general scheme is the one used in the majority of Hymnals: next to the hymns sung on the major feasts of the church we find full-page miniatures of the principal Gospel events; other scenes, as well as portraits of saints, are painted in the margins. The choice of subjects made by Sargis is fairly restricted and does not include the Old Testament scenes which appear in other Hymnals;⁸ he has also confined himself to illustrating the principal canon of a given feast, instead of repeating the representation, with slight variants, as did some other artists.⁹

¹ See p. 89.

² Formerly Aght'amar, no. 178, the owner was the Bishop Nerses: Lalayan, op. cit., col. 707-12.

³ Formerly Aght'amar, no. 183. The scribe was Paghtasar of the village of Bolents and the owner Vardan: Lalayan, op. cit., col. 723-32.

⁴ Formerly Mok's, Church of the Three Altars, no. 13. Sargis copied and illustrated the manuscript; the owner's name was Hayrapet: Lalayan, op. cit., col. 739-44.

⁵ Formerly Mok's, Church of St. James, no. 23: Lalayan, op. cit., col. 757-8.

⁶ Formerly Van, Church of SS. Peter and Paul, no. 164. The scribe was the elder Mkrtitch: Lalayan, op. cit., col. 801-4.

⁷ New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 18; one of the miniatures is reproduced by G. Hovsep'ian, *Artistic History of Khizan*, p. 10, fig. 3. The earliest work of Sargis of Khizan appears to be a manuscript dated 1591 (H. Kurdian, in *Hairenik*, Boston, 1945, part I, p. 109); and we have records of his activity

until the year 1610 in the following works which he executed alone, or with his brother Martiros and other members of the scriptorium: Bible, A.D. 1594 (Srvandztian, *T'oros Aghbar*, ii. 262-4); Books of the Old Testament, A.D. 1596 (Jerusalem, no. 397); Menologium, A.D. 1604 (New York, Kevorkian, no. 42); Hymnals, A.D. 1601 and 1602 (Jerusalem, nos. 1663 and 1460); Book of Questions of Gregory of Tat'ev, A.D. 1602 (Jerusalem, no. 420); Gospels dated A.D. 1604, 1608, and 1610 (Srvandztian, op. cit., ii. 266; Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 823-30, 837-40).

⁸ Paris, École des Langues Orientales, Hymnal of the year 1595-6: Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, fig. 66, Adam and Eve; fig. 75, Vision of Ezekiel; fig. 76, Four rivers of Paradise. London, British Museum, Or. 5088, Hymnal of the year 1507, fol. 50, Adam and Eve. The richest example is the Hymnal illustrated by Sargis of Khizan in A.D. 1601: Jerusalem, no. 1663.

⁹ Vienna, Mekhitharist Library, no. 986. There are, for instance, five separate miniatures for the Pentecost: Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, figs. 125-9.



The compositions follow the types generally adopted by the artists of Khizan in the late 16th century.¹ The intrusion of Western iconographic themes or details may be seen in the Crucifixion (fol. 134v.) where Christ's feet are nailed with one nail, and in the Ascension (fol. 184v.) with small angels and with kneeling apostles. Other examples of this iconographic type have been mentioned on p. 119 in connexion with Codex 585.

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HYMNAL AND CALENDAR

DATED A.D. 1635 AND 1641

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-4v., Hymns for the nocturnal service and prime (*Arevagal*), and part of the formulae of confession; foll. 5-359v., Hymns in the usual order from Christmas Eve to the end of the year. The principal divisions are: fol. 5, Theophany of the Lighting of Lamps; fol. 49v., Shrove Tuesday and first Sunday; fol. 100v., Raising of Lazarus; fol. 173, Pentecost; fol. 227, Eve of Holy Cross, fol. 286v., the Holy Martyrs; fol. 309v., the Dead; fol. 339, the Resurrection; foll. 360-3v., Colophon; fol. 364v., Full-page miniature; foll. 365-420v., Calendar.

Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and the end from a large Gospel in *erkat'agir*.

Lacunae. Several folios after fol. 4 with the hymns preceding Christmas Eve. One leaf of white modern paper is bound in after foll. 76 and 126, but the missing text has not been transcribed.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 14.5 × 10 cm.; written surface, 9 × 6 cm.; single column of 23 lines. 421 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper in buff colour except for foll. 1-4, 366-8, 375-421, which are in vellum. Small *bolorgir* in black ink. The text is occasionally rewritten in *notrgir* on the lower margin; on fol. 227, the text in *notrgir* is on white paper pasted over the original text. Musical notations throughout the Hymnal. The Calendar is written by a different hand; small *bolorgir* in brown ink.

BINDING. Dark-brown leather over boards, with flap. On front and end covers, blind-tooled centre panel consisting of six compartments with circles and interlaced cross; border of plaited motif. Circles and crosses on the flap.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. The Hymnal was written in 1635 at the village of Avendants (province of Mok's) by Avetis for the cleric Daniel. The Calendar was written in 1641 by Karapet for the same cleric Daniel.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 2v. 'In the year 1090 (= A.D. 1641). O, you are the measurer; a certain T'eudoyos (?) the Pythagorean geometer found you (?). Remember in the Lord. Daniel, who wrote these few words.'

Fol. 309 in *notrgir*, 'And Daniel and my parents Saven and Gulé, I beseech you, deem them worthy of one "God have mercy". Written in the year of the Armenians 1093 (= A.D. 1644). You who remember, may you be remembered by Christ. Amen.'

¹ See Introduction, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

Fol. 360–3v. Principal colophon, with a fairly long rhymed preamble.

Fol. 361v–3v. ‘... The worthy man, Ter Daniel, ... desired this as the hart panteth for springs of living waters, and he had it copied and beautifully adorned ... and I, the unworthy Avetis, carried out his order... This book called a Hymnal was copied from the good and choice model called *Khlik*, by the hand of the sinful and foolish scribe Avetis. With the grace of God I began, and through His mercy I completed this holy book in the year of the Armenians 1084 (= A.D. 1635) in the district of Mok’s, in the village called Avendants, under the shelter of the holy chief apostles Peter and Paul and Saint George the General, in these bitter and difficult times when we are troubled by the exactions of the unlawful. For tyranny and difficulties increase, more and more, over the world and principally over the Armenian nation. For in this year the khondkar (i.e. the Sultan) came with many soldiers, he marched on Erivan, and captured it.¹ Then he pushed on and reached Ardabil the city of the Persians and he is occupying their country by force. We hope and pray God ... that He may restore and re-establish the see and power of our patriarch and of the king. And now I, worthless and ignorant among the scribes..., Avetis..., with great labour and suffering, I wrote this entire Hymnal. Because of this be lenient for the mistakes and the largeness (of the script) and say “God have mercy” on me, the sinner, and on my parents Vardan and Mahmur and on my grandfather the priest T’uma... and on my sons Vardan, T’ank, Trkhun and T’uma, ... and especially on my teacher, Ter Kirakos of Avendants, who laboured greatly over me in teaching the art of writing... Again I beseech you, remember in Christ and say “God have mercy” on the owner, the cleric Ter Daniel, and on his parents Sosen and Gulan (*sic*)... Again I beseech you ... remember the miserable *abegha* who received this as a memorial for my soul and the soul of my parents...’ These last lines beginning with the words ‘the cleric Daniel’ are by the same hand as the Calendar which follows.

Fol. 419v. Colophon of the Calendar. ‘This calendar was written by the unworthy and sinful Karapet, at the door of the holy Twelve Apostles and the Theotokos, mother of the Lord, and other saints, in the year 1090 (= A.D. 1641), on 29 January, as a memorial of the holy cleric Daniel and of his parents, and of his brothers and relatives.’

The manuscript belonged previously to the Andonian congregation at Ortakeuy, near Constantinople; the seal of the library is affixed on fol. 6. Another seal stamped on fol. 401v. bears the date 1198 (= A.D. 1749).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Hymnal. Fol. 126v. Holy Women at the Sepulchre. Two women approach the angel seated on the edge of the empty tomb and pointing to the shrouds on the right; the risen Christ appears behind the tomb, holding the bannered cross. The four sleeping soldiers are represented below the frame of the miniature. Yellow background covered with rough, darker lines.

Fol. 226v. *Exaltation of the Cross.* Two men stand under a domed frame; the one on the left, dressed like the apostles, raises a large cross; the other, on the right, is dressed like a bishop. Yellow background covered with crudely drawn red floral motifs.

Several figures are drawn in the margins, sometimes only in bust: fol. 30, Anthony,

¹ The sultan referred to here is Murad IV, who captured Erivan in August 1635, occupied Tabriz,

and returned to Constantinople. The following year Shah Safi recaptured Erivan.

hermit; fol. 31^v, Theodosius, emperor; fol. 33, David; fol. 35, Stephen, protomartyr; fol. 37, Peter and Paul; fol. 46, Jonah in the mouth of the whale; fol. 77, the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia: only their heads are visible, placed in a large bowl; above are their crowns, and the segment of sky with the head of Christ in profile; fol. 131, head of John the Baptist on a platter; fol. 160, the risen Christ in a mandorla; fol. 191^v, Gregory the Illuminator; fol. 196, Nerses the Gracious; fol. 207^v, Christ of the Transfiguration, blessing; fol. 253, a seraph holding a rhipidion with the inscription: 'holy, holy, holy'.

The headpiece of the Canon of Pentecost (fol. 173) is Π -shaped, decorated with a floral design and a central medallion framing the figure of Christ, in bust, and blessing. The dove is represented in the empty space between the two vertical bands of the headpiece. The headpiece of the Canon of the Eve of the Holy Cross (fol. 227) consists of a rectangle, with a cross-shaped opening, and decorated with floral and geometric motifs. A small temple, crowned with a cross, replaces the usual floral ornament in the margin. The other headpieces are formed by narrow bands decorated with floral motifs, all on a gold background.

Floral interlaces are drawn in the margins, at the beginnings of the hymns, whenever there are no miniatures or such motifs as temples and crosses required by the text.

Calendar. Fol. 364^v, a crowned figure, flanked by two birds, stands inside a pointed oval frame.

Fol. 365. Headpiece decorated at the centre with a roundel framing three small animals, and with two sirens at the sides. A nimbed figure, dressed like a medieval knight, stands in the margin. The headpiece of fol. 384 consists of a narrow band decorated with intersecting squares and lozenges framing floral motifs.

The usual marginal ornaments of floral interlaces are frequently replaced by large flowers and, occasionally, by small crosses.

REMARKS. The composition of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, which includes the risen Christ,¹ and the figure style of both miniatures, recall the works of the Khizan school. Avetis mentions in the colophon that he was a pupil of Kirakos of Avendants who, as we know from other sources, was himself a pupil of Sargis of Khizan.² The earliest work of Avetis, or Avetik', known so far, is a Gospel which he copied and illustrated in 1626, with the assistance of his son T'uma; this manuscript has sixteen full-page miniatures and the portraits of the Evangelists.³ In 1644 he copied a Hymnal which was illustrated by Hohannes Zarvetsi, also a pupil of Sargis of Khizan.⁴ The following year he copied another Hymnal which he illustrated with the full-page miniature of Joachim and Ann and numerous marginal vignettes (Jerusalem, no. 1639).

Two of the sons of Avetis mentioned in the colophon, T'uma and Vardan, are also

¹ See above, p. 56.

² In 1602 Kirakos assisted his master Sargis in the illustrations of a Hymnal (Jerusalem, no. 1460). His name appears alone in the following manuscripts: Gospel, A.D. 1608 (New York, property of Mr. Deyrmanjian); Collection of different writings, A.D. 1619 (New York, Collection Hazarian); Bible, A.D. 1624 (Jerusalem, no. 2560); Hymnal, A.D. 1629 (Jerusalem, no. 2358). A Gospel he copied in 1640-3 was illus-

trated by his pupil Hohannes Zarvetsi (Jerusalem, no. 2670).

³ Formerly at Lim, no. 229: Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 867-8.

⁴ Jerusalem, no. 1659. The following scenes are represented: Joachim and Ann; the Holy Women at the Sepulchre (without the risen Christ); Pentecost; Christ in Glory on the Cross.

known through several manuscripts which have survived.¹ I have not been able to find any other manuscript signed by Karapet, the illustrator of the Calendar, whose work is inferior to that of Avetis.

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HYMNAL

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 3v., Miniature; foll. 4–344v., Hymns in the usual order of the year, and divided into the following canons: fol. 4, Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 12v., Theophany; fol. 51, Holy Apostles; fol. 56, Shrove Tuesday and first Sunday; fol. 105v., Raising of Lazarus; fol. 130v., Resurrection; fol. 173v., Pentecost; fol. 221, Eve of Holy Cross; fol. 275, Martyrs; fol. 295v., the Dead; fol. 320v., Hymn of the Resurrection; fol. 345v.–346, Hymn of the Virgin (added later); fol. 346v., Colophon.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 13.3 × 9.5 cm.; written surface 9 × 5.5 cm.; single column of 24 lines. 347 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Cream vellum. Neat, regular *bolorgir* in black ink. The initials of the hymns are in floral or zoomorphic letters; those of the verses are in red ink. Musical notations throughout. Foll. 345 and 346, written in *notrgir*, have been added later.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, with flap, and silver studs for thongs. Border of stamped rosettes, line-tooling, and fleurons.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century, before 1663.

COLOPHON. Fol. 346v., in *notrgir*: 'For the enjoyment of *tiratsu* Gabriel who took, read and enjoyed (this) in the year 1112 (= A.D. 1663) on 12 June.' The first words are written over again, below. Unintelligible scribbling on foll. 345 and 347v.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 3v., *Joachim and Ann* stand at the side of a tree with a nest of swallows. The figures are tinted red, orange, and green.

Rectangles with arches opening into them and, more often, narrow bands decorated with floral scrolls drawn against a red background serve as headpieces for the different canons. The headpiece of the Canon of the Apostles, on fol. 51, is formed by the twelve apostles represented in bust. Small marginal ornaments are drawn at the beginning of each hymn; on fol. 32v. there is a small temple, and on fol. 136 the head of John the Baptist on a platter.

¹ The following works by T'uma are known: Gospel, A.D. 1632; two Gospels dated A.D. 1646, one of them without any illustrations; another Gospel dated A.D. 1648 (Lalayan, *Catalogue*, cols. 879, 901, 903, 913); two Hymnals dated A.D. 1665 and 1671

(Jerusalem, nos. 1670 and 1675). The following works by Vardan are known: Hymnal, A.D. 1664 (Jerusalem, no. 1625); Gospel, A.D. 1669 (Jerusalem, no. 2618); Gospel, A.D. 1673 (Lalayan, op. cit., col. 941).

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HYMNAL (fragment)

c. A.D. 1669

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Loose leaves, mounted.

Lacunae. The greater part of the Hymnal is missing.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 12.5 × 8.5 cm. (the margins are trimmed); written surface, 8.5 × 5.7 cm.; 21 lines on each page. 17 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin vellum. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of the principal divisions and the initials of the hymns are in floral or zoomorphic letters. Musical notations throughout.

BINDING. None.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in A.D. 1669, or shortly before, by Karapet for Movses *vardapet* and the deacon Ghazar.

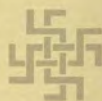
COLOPHON. Fol. 254v. 'Remember in Christ the scribe Karapet and the owner of this the cleric Movses, O you who love studies.' On the same page, in a different hand: 'This Hymnal is a memorial of Movses *vardapet* for the enjoyment of the cleric Ghazar, and if anyone should show opposition may he be cursed by Christ God . . ., in the year 1118 (= A.D. 1669).'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. *Joachim and Ann* stand side by side. Two rectangular buildings are drawn in the background, with a drapery going from one to the other.

Fol. 254. The *angel* is seated at the sepulchre, which is represented as a sarcophagus containing a shroud.

Foll. 1a and 255. Large headpieces consisting of a rectangle, with a trefoil arch opening into it, and decorated with floral scrolls painted against the gold background. Narrow bands of floral scrolls mark the beginnings of the principal divisions on foll. 20, 102, 202, A; other divisions are indicated by a marginal ornament. A small temple is drawn in the margin of fol. D, and a cross above the ornament of fol. 234v.

REMARKS. The first miniature of the Hymnals usually figures the prayer of Ann, with Joachim standing next to her, instead of their meeting at the Golden gate as in this manuscript. The representation of the Angel at the Sepulchre also differs from the usual iconography in that the holy women and the sleeping soldiers have been omitted.



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HYMNAL

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–315v., Hymns in the usual order, divided into the following canons: fol. 9, Theophany; fol. 30, Presentation; fol. 51, Shrove Tuesday and first Sunday; fol. 98, Raising of Lazarus; fol. 122, Resurrection; fol. 164, Pentecost; fol. 209, Eve of Holy Cross; fol. 259, Martyrs; fol. 276, the Dead; fol. 299, Hymn of the Resurrection.

Foll. 29v., 50v., 97v., 121v., 163v. are left blank.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 12 × 9 cm.; written surface 7.7 × 5.5 cm.; single column of 22 lines. 316 + 4 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. White thin vellum. Small *bolorgir* in black ink, in places considerably browned. The first line of fol. 1 and the initials of the hymns are in floral or zoomorphic letters. Musical notations throughout.

BINDING. Light-brown leather over boards, stamped with floral and geometric designs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHON. Fol. 316, in a different hand: 'At the request of the God-loving Leo, king of the Armenians, who is called Leo the second, I wrote this hymnal in the year of the Armenians 636 (= A.D. 1187), in Cilicia, in the year of the Lord 1186. Pray for the writer and remember the sinful one. Blessed be Christ our God for I completed the book.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The *headpieces* which mark the principal divisions are in the shape of rectangles with multifoil arches opening into them, or narrow bands decorated with floral scrolls painted against a gold background. The marginal ornaments of these pages consist of interlacing palmettes; those of the other hymns are simpler floral motifs or birds.

REMARKS. The colophon on fol. 316, written in a different hand, must have been copied from an older manuscript. The date has no bearing with this Hymnal, which was clearly written long after 1187 since it contains several hymns composed in the 13th century, for instance, the hymn on St. Gregory written in 1288 by Bluz. The date of the Christian era, written in arabic numerals, is a further indication of the late date of this inscription, for letters were always used in the Middle Ages.

The Hymnal is a very fine example of the 17th-century style which imitated or copied works of the 13th and 14th centuries. As in other manuscripts of the 17th century, the first line of fol. 1 is written in zoomorphic letters on a narrow gold band.



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HYMNAL

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-335, Hymns in the usual order, divided into the following canons: fol. 1, Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 9, Theophany; fol. 51, Shrove Tuesday and first Sunday; fol. 101, Raising of Lazarus; fol. 127, Resurrection; fol. 221, Eve of the Holy Cross; fol. 274, Holy Martyrs; fol. 317, Resurrection.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 12 × 9 cm.; written surface 7.8 × 5.5 cm.; single column of 23 lines. 335 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Fine vellum. Small, regular *bolorgir* in brownish ink. The initials of the principal divisions are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the titles and the first two lines are in red *bolorgir*. Musical notations throughout.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards with flap. Blind-tooled: centre, small panel of twisted rope; ruled borders with rosettes and ovals between the lines. Plaited motifs on flaps. Two silver chains and pegs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century. Written by Vardan.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 210. 'O order of luminous beings, when you encounter this, reading or copying it, remember the sinful scribe Vardan and ask for the remission of his sins; and may you be remembered by Christ.'

Fol. 249, in *notrgir*: 'For the enjoyment of the priest Hakob, A.D. 1728.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The *headpieces*, except for those on foll. 1 and 127, which are larger, consist of narrow bands with floral scrolls or floral motifs arranged to form geometric designs. The small marginal ornaments at the beginning of each hymn are occasionally replaced by figures or other motifs connected with the hymns: fol. 47, Jonah in the mouth of the whale; fol. 132v., head of John the Baptist on a platter; trees on foll. 103, 105, 163v.; temples on foll. 140, 201, 208v., 221; crosses for the octave of the Holy Cross on foll. 222, 223v., 225, 227v., 230, 232v., 234.

REMARKS. The page facing fol. 1, and foll. 50v., 100v., 126v., 210v., 220v., and the greater part of fol. 316v. are left blank; on foll. 50v., 100v., and 126v. a frame is drawn in red lines. These pages were obviously intended for miniatures illustrating the canons which followed them. The manuscript is a fine example of the careful script of the 17th century imitating the *bolorgir* of the 13th century.



598

LECTIONARY

DATED A.D. 1331

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 2–160v., Daily readings from the end of the lection of Christmas Eve (Gen. iii. 14) to the Vigil of Easter; foll. 161–255v., Lectons from Easter Sunday to Pentecost; foll. 255v.–586v., Lectons from the Monday after Pentecost to the Saturday preceding the first Sunday of Lent; foll. 586v.–587v., Colophon; foll. 588–98, Homily on the Holy Ghost by Nerses of Lambron; foll. 598v.–607, Lectons for the week of St. Sargis; fol. 607v., Colophon.

The text follows the 'Jerusalem' version with indications concerning the commemoration of feasts in the holy places of Palestine.¹

Lacunae. Fol. 1 with the first part of the Lectons of Christmas Eve; one folio after fol. 160; this probably had a full-page miniature, as no text is missing.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32.5 × 24.5 cm.; written surface 25 × 17 cm.; 2 columns of 27 lines each. 607 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper. Large *bolorgir* in black ink. The initials of the lections are in floral or zoomorphic letters. Beginning with fol. 588 the text is in a different hand.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, worn and torn in places. Front cover missing. End cover blind-tooled: centre panel, interlacing circles; border, cord motif. Flap with cord motif and little fleurons in squares.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1331 at the monastery of Saint Kirakos, in the province of Ekeghiats, by Hohannes Herkayn for the hermit Barsegh.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 255v. 'Remember in the Lord the most blessed hermit Barsegh the owner of this book containing many divine writings, and also the miserable scribe, I beseech you.'

Foll. 586v.–587v. 'Glory to the Father without beginning, and to the only begotten Son, and to the Holy Ghost. . . . And so having desired this holy testament containing the word of God and the Gospel teaching, I, the sinful Barsegh, unworthily called a hermit, the son of Step'annos, I received it with my rightful earnings, for my needs and the illumination of the life hereafter, and as a goodly memorial of myself and my parents and all my children and all the dead. And so I, the humble hermit Barsegh, I had it composed following the order of the entire year and containing the readings for every day, with the exception of the fast of 'salt and bread'. . . . I, the humble Barsegh, having prostrated myself, I beg and beseech you all . . . remember my suffering soul which needs the mercy of God; (remember me), Barsegh the hermit, and my father Step'annos and my mother Maremtikin, and my brother Karapet and all my relatives. . . . Remember in the Lord, I pray you, the meek priest Nerses who prompted and

¹ F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 507–27.



encouraged this book, who encouraged us in this spiritual work. For I gave this as a memorial of my soul to the village of Babertsik', to the church of the Holy Theotokos (the last words in a different writing). This was completed in the year of the Armenians 780 (= A.D. 1331), during the prelacy of Hakob, who is the nephew of Ter Grigor of Anazarba, and during the reign of our God-loving king Levon, the son of Oshin, in bitter and difficult times. . . . This was completed in the province of Ekeghiat, in the celebrated holy monastery of Saint Kirakos, under the protection of the all-powerful Right hand of Jesus, and of the holy martyr of Christ, Saint Kirakos, and of other saints who are here, when the archbishop Ter Sargis was the metropolitan of Erznka, by the hand of the foolish scribe Hohannes. . . . And now I, the miserable scribe Hohannes, surnamed Herkayn, prostrating myself, I beseech you . . . remember the above named owner of this holy book, Barsegh the hermit . . . who gave it to this holy church.

And I, with pitiful countenance, I pray you all do not condemn the largeness (of the script) and the mistakes, for I was writing during the winter season. Again I beseech you all who encounter this ask God for the forgiveness of my sins. . . .'

Fol. 607v., in a later hand. 'The owner of this holy book called a *Tjashots* (lectionary) who bought it with his rightful earnings . . ., Karapet, remember him and his sons . . ., say "God have mercy" and may God have mercy on you at the second coming of Christ. In the year 1006 (= A.D. 1557).'

The manuscript was previously in the library of the Andonian Congregation in Ortakeuy. Their seal is affixed on fol. 2, and pasted inside the back cover is a paper with a notice by the hand of the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian: 'Tjashots in *bolovgir* written in the year of the Armenians 780 in the province of Ekeghiat by the hand of Hohannes called Herkayn, as a memorial for the village of Babertsik.'

A seal with the inscription 'the servant of Jesus Christ Ter Ohan' is stamped several times on the margins of foll. 385v.-386.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The portraits of several saints are drawn in the margins next to the lections read on their feast day. Fol. 15, Stephen, protomartyr; fol. 52, Cyril of Jerusalem; fol. 381, the Virgin, standing with closed eyes (Dormition); fol. 464v., Helena holding a large cross; fol. 510v., Jacob of Nisibis; fol. 528v., David playing the lute; fol. 530v., Stephen, protomartyr; fol. 535v., Peter and Paul; fol. 538, James and John; fol. 541v., Basil; fol. 547v., Anthony, hermit (almost entirely effaced), and a lion at his feet; fol. 549v., Theodosius, emperor; fol. 570v., Marutha; fol. 574v., Sargis on horseback with his son Martiros; fol. 598v., Jonah in the whale's mouth.

The *headpieces* of the principal divisions on foll. 161, 255v., and 588 are decorated with floral scrolls or intersecting palmettes, tinted with red, and drawn against a darker red background. The large marginal ornaments are formed by interlacing palmettes; smaller floral interlaces and sirens are drawn in the margins, at the beginning of each lection; a tree (fol. 101), crosses (foll. 126v., 144, 146, 431v.), and temples (foll. 90, 186, 249v., 270v., 415v.) occasionally replace the marginal ornaments.

REMARKS. The marginal figures and all the ornaments are carelessly drawn. The paint is discoloured and sometimes blurred through humidity. The monastery of St. Kirakos is mentioned for the first time in a Gospel written in 1289, and offered to



this monastery in 1298.¹ In the course of the 14th century several manuscripts were written there; one of these, a Gospel written in 1335 by Nerses (Oxford, Bodl. Arm. d. 4) is decorated with delicately drawn canon tables and headpieces, and portraits of the Evangelists which show the influence of Byzantine art, as well as that of the paintings of the Cilician school. The scribe of our manuscript, Hohannes Herkayn, probably came from the monastery called Herkayn, in the province of Ekeghiats.

599

LECTIONARY

DATED A.D. 1414

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Bound in five separate volumes, with continuous pagination. Vol. i, foll. i-iii^v, Lectons for the Baptism ceremony at Epiphany; pp. 1-106, Lectons from Epiphany to the Vigil of the feast of the Council of Constantinople. Vol. ii, pp. 107-348, Lectons from *Barekendan* (Shrove Tuesday) to the Vigil of Easter. Vol. iii, pp. 349-517, Lectons from Easter Sunday to the end of the seventh Sunday. Vol. iv, pp. 519-738, Lectons from Pentecost to the Monday of the feast of the Holy Cross. Vol. v, pp. 739-926, Lectons beginning with the last part of the Monday of the Holy Cross and ending with the Sunday following the feast of Basil and of Gregory of Nyssa; p. 926, Colophon.

Lacunae. Before p. 1: lections of Christmas Eve up to Mt. i. 20; before p. 739: the beginning of the Lectons of the Monday of the Holy Cross; after p. 926: the end of the colophon.

The text follows, in the main, the 'Jerusalem' version with indications for the commemorations of feasts at the holy places of Palestine. The feasts from the Christmas Octave to the Purification are dated.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32.5 × 26 cm.; written surface, 25.5 × 19 cm.; 2 columns of 29 lines each. 932 pages.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper, browned and somewhat frayed. Large, irregular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of pp. 349 and 519 and the initials of the lections are in floral, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic letters; the first line of the lections and several lines of pp. 349 and 519 are in red capitals; the rubrics are in red *bolorgir*. The first six pages are in a smaller script but by the same hand as the rest of the manuscript; pp. 735-8 are written on different paper by a later hand, with rubrics in *notrgir*. Omissions and corrections have been added in the margins, in *notrgir*.

BINDING. Modern light-brown leather over boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 863 (= A.D. 1414) by the priest Hovsep' for the elders Karapet and Step'annos.

COLOPHONS. Vol. i, fol. iii^v. 'Brothers, be lenient, for I wrote in a hurry as they were binding the book. I beseech you, forgive my mistakes. Oh my spiritual brother,

¹ H. Oskian, *The Monasteries of Bardzr Hayk'* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1951, pp. 82-89.



elder Karapet, I beg your sanctity do not despise, although it was delayed and you worked, for it was not through my will but that of satan. May God grant you enjoyment of this for many years. Amen, three thousand Amens.'

Vol. i, p. 106. 'Please forgive. On the day of the Presentation I began the lections of Lent. Remember also the owner of this book and may God remember you, Amen. Do not forget either, O brothers Karapet and Step'annos, the miserable scribe; for I was not a skilled person and much remained unwritten. Forgive also the largeness of the script, for this was the best I could do. May the Lord grant you the enjoyment of this, Amen.'

Vol. ii, p. 348. 'Christ God, through Thy holy Resurrection and with the intercession of Thy holy Theotokos and the holy twelve apostles, grant the resurrection of life to the elder Karapet and to my father, Ghazar the elder, and to my mother, Khat'un . . ., to my brother Sargis, to my sister Eghisé and to my wife Gohar Melek' . . . and to my uncle Step'annos. . . . Remember Karapet and Step'annos. . . .'

Vol. iii, pp. 516-17. 'Life-giving Holy Ghost . . . illumine the soul of the pious elder Karapet, and of his father, the elder Ghazar, who is at rest in Christ, and of his mother Mam Khat'un and of my brother Sargis, and of my sister Eghisé and of my wife Gohar. . . . And in your prayers remember the miserable priest called Hovsep' and forgive his errors, and be lenient for the large size of the paper. . . . I wrote this on the feast of the holy Illuminator.'

Vol. v, p. 926. 'Glory to the Holy Trinity. . . . This book was completed by the hand of the sinful and worthless scribe, the cleric named Hovsep', at the request of the pious Karapet and Step'annos, in the year 863 of the era of our Armenian nation (= A.D. 1414), during the patriarchate of Ter Hakob, when there was no longer a kingship of the Armenian nation, in bitter and cruel times when the Armenians were overcome with taxations and we are pursued'; the end is missing.

The names of the scribe or of the owners also appear at the end of some lections and in the lower margins. P. 611, '... have mercy on me, the sinful misnamed Hovsep'; p. 621, 'Lord, Jesus ... have mercy on the owner of this book, Karapet, and on Step'annos and on his other blood relatives, Amen'; p. 701, 'I beseech you to remember in the Lord the owner of this holy book, the elder Karapet, with his parents and all his blood relatives. Amen.' Elsewhere the scribe asks for prayers and for forgiveness without giving his name. He has also added personal remarks in the margins, such as: p. 475, 'O, I beg of you, forgive the largeness for I only ate dry maize bread'; p. 481, 'O my spiritual brother Karapet, be lenient, for the flies were devouring my eyes'; p. 489, 'O my brother Karapet, I long for thy sight, fare thee well'; p. 529, 'O this large paper which bores me, and the flies'; p. 707, 'O, it was hot and the flies gave me no respite'; p. 741, 'I did not have my wits about me, they were scattered'; p. 783, 'O brother, I am sick and tired.' In many other places he states that he wrote in a great hurry.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Two large headpieces are painted above the lections of Easter Sunday and Pentecost. The first (p. 349) is Π -shaped and decorated with delicately drawn interlacing palms, tinted a light brown on a red background. Birds are perched above the headpiece and a large ornament of floral interlace fills the entire outer margin. The second headpiece (Pl. 30) is painted in light

brown and blue against a dark red background, the lions are painted yellow, and the background of the central medallion is a very dark blue. The headpiece on p. 107 consists of a narrow rectangle, over one column of the text, decorated with floral scrolls.

The marginal ornaments present a large variety of floral interlaces as well as real and imaginary animal forms, often combined with the floral motifs. Figures or small scenes, connected with the text of the lections, sometimes replace the ornamental designs. Vol. i, p. 86, St. Sargis the general (Pl. 31*a*). Vol. ii, p. 122, St. Theodore Stratelatus, on horseback, piercing a dragon with his lance; p. 142 (I Sam. ii. 22), Eli seated; p. 185 (Deut. ix. 11), Moses holding the tables of the law on which are written: 'Hearken Israel, the Lord God'; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'; p. 188, The Forty Martyrs of Sebastia: their heads only are represented, in ten rows one above the other in the form of an interlace; p. 199 (Exod. iv. 1), Moses holding the rod which was turned into a serpent; p. 204 (Deut. x. 1), Moses, kneeling, hews with an axe the tables of the law; p. 207, Gregory the Illuminator in the serpent's pit holding a book decorated with a cross: inscription, 'the pit'; p. 217 (Dan. vii. 2), the Vision of Daniel (Pl. 31*b*); p. 231 (Mk. x. 46), a child cutting the branches of a tree; p. 236, (Mt. xxi. 19), the fig-tree; p. 239 (Gen. i. 1), Adam and Eve stand at the sides of a vine and taste the grapes, the serpent is on the ground, before them: inscription, 'Adam, Eve, the serpent flees, having done evil'; p. 247 (Gen. x. 1), Noah's ark (Pl. 32*b*); p. 259 (Gen. xviii. 1), the oak of Mamre; p. 266 (Gen. xxii. 1), the Sacrifice of Isaac (Pl. 32*a*); p. 280 (Jn. xiii. 16), Christ teaching. Vol. iii, p. 367 (Mt. xiv. 10-11), a man carrying the head of John the Baptist on a platter; p. 390 (Jn. ii. 12), temple; p. 497 (Ps. cxlii. 10), temple, with dove descending from above. Vol. iv, p. 530, Elijah standing, next to him a vase placed on a column; p. 533, St. Hrip'simé; p. 543 (Prov. ix. 1), a house; p. 607 (Ps. cxxxii. 7), the tabernacle; p. 609, Christ of the Transfiguration, above Him the Hand of God; p. 699 (feast of the vision of *Shoghakat* by St. Gregory the Illuminator), a temple. Vol. v, p. 745 (Jn. x. 23), temple; p. 830 (feast of the Archangels), Gabriel and Michael standing; p. 900 (17 Dec., feast of David), David, enthroned, playing a musical instrument; p. 907 (25 Dec., feast of John and James), John the Evangelist standing.

REMARKS. The date of the manuscript, 1414, does not seem to agree with the name of the catholicos mentioned in the colophon, for it has generally been accepted that Hakob III died in 1411 and was succeeded by Grigor VIII.¹ However, the reference to Hakob III should be retained as correct, for it is corroborated by the information given by the scribes of other manuscripts who mention Hakob as the reigning catholicos in the years 1412 (Erivan, no. 1609), 1413 (colophon added on that date in Jerusalem, no. 251, fol. 329*v*.), and 1414 (Erivan, no. 3876).²

The style of the miniatures and ornaments points to the southern part of Armenia, and particularly to the region of Khizan. There are many points of similarity between the figures drawn in the margins of this Lectionary and those of the full-page miniatures in the Gospel no. 565, illustrated at Bastay Vank' in A.D. 1439 (Pl. 33). For instance, Eli, enthroned (p. 142), recalls the portrait of Matthew (fol. 15*v*.); we have the same facial

¹ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, ii, cols. 2039-40; see also cols. 2033-4 for a discussion of the date.

² L. Khatchikian, *Colophons of Armenian Manu-*

scripts of the 15th century (in Armenian), Erivan, 1955, pp. 133, 157, and 170.



types, the same way of drawing the hair with a curl over the shoulder, and the same treatment of the drapery. The representation of Moses on p. 185 is very close to the figure of Moses in the Transfiguration (fol. 3v.). The figure of Christ on pp. 280 and 609 is almost identical with the type adopted in the Gospel no. 565. Elijah in the Transfiguration scene of the Gospel (fol. 3v.) is an exact replica of the prophet Elijah on p. 530.

There are also other points of similarity with the manuscripts illustrated in the region south of Lake Van. In the sacrifice of Isaac (Pl. 32a) the hands of Isaac are tied with a round thong as are the hands of Christ after His arrest in manuscripts illustrated at Khizan or its vicinity.¹ St. Sargis (Pl. 31a) wears the same costume and carries the same type of mace and quiver as the donor of a Gospel illustrated at Langshen in 1330.² The animals drawn in the margins recall those of the manuscripts of Khizan, in particular the sirens, with their feathers stylized to imitate leaves, who, with head thrown back, eat the leaves of the ornament on which they stand. Identical figures may be seen in several manuscripts illustrated at Khizan in the 15th century: Jerusalem, nos. 2663 and 2784, dated A.D. 1414 and 1434; Codex, no. 566 of this collection; and Walters Art Gallery, no. 543, dated A.D. 1455.

One objection to locating this manuscript in the general region of Lake Van would be that the scribe mentions the catholicos of Sis, but not the catholicos of Aght'amar, as one would have expected since the area of Lake Van was under the jurisdiction of the latter. However, similar omissions occur in other manuscripts of this region; for instance in two Gospels written at Van in 1418 and 1421, in another written at Berkri, east of Lake Van in 1419, and in a Gospel written at Khizan in 1421 only the catholicos of Sis is mentioned.³

The principal colophon of our manuscript being incomplete, we cannot be sure whether the scribe Hovsep' had also illustrated the manuscript. The similarities with the Gospel no. 565 cannot be interpreted to mean that the two manuscripts were illustrated by the same man, for the miniatures and ornaments of the Lectionary are drawn with far greater skill and are the work of a better artist.

In illustrating the Lectionary with portraits of saints and scenes of the Old and New Testaments our painter was following a practice already established by the Cilician artists of the 13th century⁴ and continued later by the painters of Great Armenia. Parallels for a number of the miniatures are to be found in a Lectionary written in 1331 in the canton of Apahunik' north of Lake Van (Jerusalem, no. 95)⁵ and in another Lectionary written in 1335 at the village of Vahnashen (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 803).⁶

Two miniatures of our Lectionary are of particular interest. Noah's ark, floating

¹ Chester Beatty Collection, no. 566, fol. 7; Baltimore, Walters, no. 543, fol. 9v.

² New Julfa, no. 481: H. Kurdian, 'An Important Armenian Manuscript from A.D. 1330', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1939, pl. xiiib. The same costume is worn by the Magi in Paris, Arm. 333 illustrated at Khizan in 1337; by the bridegroom in the Marriage at Cana, in Codex no. 565 of this collection, and in other 15th-century manuscripts of Khizan.

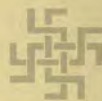
³ Lalayan, *Catalogue*, coll. 308 and 340; P'irghale-

mian, *Notark'*, pp. 57, 60, 65.

⁴ Etchmiadzin, no. 892/979, illustrated for King Het'um II in 1286. See *Ararat*, 1888, pp. 345-7, and Svirine, *La Miniature*, frontispiece, pl. facing p. 62 and pp. 64-68.

⁵ A few miniatures have been reproduced by A. Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, vol. ii, pp. 10, 47, 113, 239.

⁶ S. Der Nersessian, 'An Armenian Lectionary of the XIVth Century', in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, p. 231-7.



over the waters (Pl. 32*b*), recalls the ciborium-like designs represented in Gospel manuscripts whenever the temple of Jerusalem is mentioned in the text. The heads of Noah and of his two sons fill the first tympanum, and different animals and birds appear in the second tympanum. The artist probably intended to show the interior of the ark, as in a cross-section. A similar attempt had already been made in the Lectionary of A.D. 1335 in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Noah and his wife look out of a window; birds fill the rectangular space above them as well as the tympanum of the ark.¹

Daniel's vision of the four beasts (vii. 2–8), a very unusual subject in East Christian art, frequently appears in Armenian Lectionaries. Our painter has tried to differentiate the beasts by figuring the distinctive traits mentioned in the Biblical text, but he has grouped them together in the manner of a tetramorph (Pl. 31*b*). The first beast, who 'was like a lion', is on the lower left; above him is the second beast, 'like to a bear ... and three ribs were in its mouth between its teeth'; the third beast, 'like a leopard', is represented on the lower right, and above him appears the fourth beast, who was 'terrible and powerful and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth'. On his head are the ten horns and the additional one which, instead of being smaller, is larger than the others, but the painter has attempted to show that 'in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man and a mouth speaking great things'.

This miniature is derived from a fuller composition of which we have an earlier example in the Lectionary of A.D. 1331 (Jerusalem, no. 95, fol. 142). Daniel is reclining in bed, his eyes closed in sleep, but his head is raised towards the vision represented in the upper part of the margin, namely the Ancient of Days enthroned and the four beasts grouped as in our manuscript. In the Lectionary of the Pierpont Morgan Library we again see Daniel and the Ancient of Days, but the four beasts are represented separately.² The text is also more faithfully interpreted in the figuration of the third beast, the leopard, which is shown with four heads. These two miniatures help us to understand the meaning of the small circular objects drawn before the first beast in our manuscript; they should have been drawn next to the fourth beast, who with his iron teeth 'devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it'. In the Jerusalem Lectionary this 'residue' comes out of the beast's jaws; in the Morgan Lectionary it is figured under the beast's feet.

This manuscript, with its delicate and rich ornamentation, is one of the best examples of the Khizan school of the early 15th century. The ornaments are drawn with great skill and accuracy, and the light brown tints set off by the deeper reds and blues of the backgrounds produce a most pleasing effect. The marginal ornaments, and especially the animals, form very elegant compositions and present a great variety of types. The long survival of ancient Iranian forms may be seen in the attitudes of the stags or deer, seated with their legs sharply bent and gathered under the body (pp. 25, 103), or in the two bears which imitate the lions of a well-known Sasanian silver vase.³

The text is written in a coarse uneven script, and the scribe Hovsep' cannot have executed the elegant drawings of this manuscript; the name of the painter thus remains unknown. But we can perhaps recognize his hand in an equally fine work of the

¹ S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 183.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 181.

³ A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford,

1938, vol. iv, pl. 206, 219*b*, 220, 222; J. I. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pl. LI.

Khizan school, the Gospel of Jerusalem no. 2663, illustrated in 1414 by an anonymous painter. At first, these miniatures appear somewhat different, because they are painted in brilliant colours, usually against a gold background, but a closer study reveals marked similarities with the illustrations of our Lectionary in the figure style, the facial types, the delicate ornaments of the headpieces, and the various birds and animals represented in the margins. The fact that both manuscripts are dated 1414 need not exclude the possibility of their being illustrated by the same person, for the miniatures of the Lectionary could have been painted in the margins after the scribe had completed his work.

600

LECTIONARY

DATED A.D. 1446

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-192v., Lectons from Christmas Eve to Easter Eve; foll. 194-268, Lectons from Easter Sunday to the seventh Sunday; foll. 270-465, Lectons from Pentecost to the end of the year; foll. 465-6v., Colophon. On fols. 193v. and 269v. a later hand has written short passages from the Acts.

Lacunae. Several folios at the beginning with the lections of Christmas Eve preceding Isaiah xlii. 4. Foll. 284-8 have been added later to replace those which were lost; fol. 286v. is blank.

The text follows the 'Jerusalem' version, with indications concerning the commemorations at the holy places of Palestine. The names of the saints commemorated on each day are sometimes written in the lower margin.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 31.5 × 20.5 cm.; written surface, 24.7 × 15.5 cm.; 2 columns of 31 lines each. 466 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Smooth buff paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of the main divisions and the initials of the lections are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the other capitals are in red or purple *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards, blind-tooled with geometric pattern, renewed mostly with the old material. Four plaited thongs and metal pegs (new) for fastening.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1446 at the monastery of the Holy Saviour in Arabkir by the scribe Minas, decorated and bound by the owner, Bishop Grigor of Harsenk'ef, who presented it to the catholicos of Cilicia, Ter Karapet.

COLOPHONS. Foll. 465-6v. Following the usual doxology, there is glowing praise of the catholicos Karapet, worthy successor of Gregory the Illuminator, 'who has now renewed the see of the capital of Cilicia . . . and established the holy throne in the holy monastery of Saint Paul which lies in the southern part of the city of Sis, with the monastery of the Holy Cross, and the holy Right Hand of Gregory our Illuminator and Ann the mother of the Theotokos in whose name is erected a Holy church. . . . Now this holy prelate, the catholicos Ter Karapet, having come from Tokat,



re-established the holy see of the Illuminator in the metropolis of Cilicia, which for five years had remained closed because the holy Right Hand of our Illuminator had been lost. Having found it he restored the holy see, then went to Jerusalem, where he bowed himself before the holy places of our Lord Christ. And he witnessed the poverty of Saint James, the monastery of the Armenians, for at that time the Armenian church of Saint James was in debt, and crosses, Gospel books and vestments had been mortgaged in the hands of aliens. From thence the catholicos Ter Karapet proceeded to Egypt, to the Sultan Tahir, and was greatly honoured by the latter and received precious vestments and large gifts, for it is customary for kings to make presents to important people because of their merits. And having returned to Jerusalem he (Ter Karapet) freed the church from its debts, and the holy vessels from the hands of the unlawful. From thence he came to his own holy monastery of St. Paul. May the Lord God grant him enjoyment of his see and of this holy book, and may He preserve his pure memory and that of his parents (a blank), and of his brother paron Arak'el, and of his nephew Ter Grigor. Amen. This holy book was written by the hand of the deacon Minas in the region of Arabkir, in the great and famous monastery of the Saviour, where the Lord appeared to Aplakidus in the shape of a deer, with the cross between his horns, and a voice came from the cross to Aplakidus saying: "Why doest thou persecute me?" And he, terrified by the vision, returned to his house, believed in God, was baptized with his entire household, and received the name of Eustathius and built a famous monastery in this place, and called it the monastery of the Saviour. This holy book was completed by the hand of . . . the deacon Minas, in the year of the Armenians 895 (= A.D. 1446), during the prelacy in Cilicia of Ter Karapet, and the reign in Egypt of Sultan Tahir of the Muslim nation. For it has in entirety all the feasts of the Lord, of the apostles, the prophets, the church fathers. . . . You who encounter this, reading or copying it, remember in your pure prayers the above-named catholicos Ter Karapet . . . and the deacon Minas, the scribe, and his parents Sultan and Kher khat'un. . . . And I, Bishop Grigor of Harsenk'ef, I asked my nephew, the deacon Minas, to write it, and I decorated it and bound it with my own hands and presented it to the catholicos Ter Karapet.'

This manuscript belonged previously to the Andonian Congregation at Ortakeuy, near Constantinople. Their seal is affixed on fol. 1, and inside the front cover a brief notice is written by the hand of the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The *headpieces* of the principal divisions on foll. 194 and 270 are decorated with floral interlaces forming geometric patterns, painted in pale green, pale rose, and greyish-blue; narrow, ornate bands are drawn on foll. 177, 361*v.*, and 384*v.* Large ornaments of floral interlaces fill the outer margin on foll. 194 and 270; smaller marginal ornaments of floral interlaces, animals, birds, and sirens mark the beginning of each lection. These are replaced by a number of motifs connected with the text: fol. 118*v.*, two lions as an illustration of the Vision of Daniel; fol. 421, a seraph, for the Feast of the Archangels; foll. 28*v.* and 202*v.*, the head of John the Baptist on a platter; trees (foll. 126, 127*v.*, 128*v.*, 365*v.*); temples (foll. 103, 114, 215, 287, 318, 361, 383, 386, 386*v.*, 387*v.*); crosses (foll. 168, 170*v.*, 172, 174, 176, 176*v.*, 237, 384*v.*, 388, 388*v.*, 394, 413).



REMARKS. The ornaments are somewhat carelessly drawn and painted in pale colours, mostly rose, greyish-blue, and pale green. The scribe Minas and the painter Grigor, who in 1444 copied and illustrated a Menologium at the fortress of Sinamur near the city of Kharberd, east of Arabkir (Paris, Arm. 181), may be identified with the scribe and illustrator of our manuscript, for the marginal figures and ornaments recall those of this Lectionary.

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LECTIONARY

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–241v., Lections from Christmas to the sixth Wednesday after Easter; foll. 242–335v., Lections from the third day of the Transfiguration to the feast of St. Stephen the protomartyr. Folios 336–41v. have been misplaced and should come between foll. 301 and 302.

Lacunae. Six quires (nos. 22–27) between foll. 241 and 242, with the lections from Ascension to the third day of the Transfiguration; a few folios after fol. 335, with the end of the lection for St. Stephen (Acts viii. 1 on) and the lections of the last days of the year.

The text follows in general the 'Jerusalem' version with indications concerning the commemorations at the holy places of Palestine. The dates and titles of the lections, the names and dates of the saints commemorated are occasionally written in the lower margin.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 31 × 23 cm.; written surface 26.5 × 16.5 cm.; 2 columns of 36 lines each. 341 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, soiled in places. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of fol. 1 is in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic letters; the initials of the daily readings are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the rubrics and occasionally the first lines are written in red ink.

BINDING. Dark brown leather on boards. Blind-tooled. Centre fleurons within a lozenge decorated with floral scrolls; three rectangular frames with similar design. On end cover same motif in the centre and four rectangular frames. Back mended. Leather straps and thongs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th–18th century.

COLOPHONS. The colophon is lost with the last part of the manuscript. On fol. 35 the scribe, without giving his name, has written in the lower margin: 'and remember the writer of this word.'

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Fol. 1. *Headpiece.* Large rectangle, with a trefoil arch opening into it, and decorated with large flowers painted in gold, red, and green against a dark blue background. In the centre of the rectangle is a roundel with the bust figures of the Virgin and Child; above it, two peacocks drink



out of a chalice. A large ornament of interlacing palmettes fills the side margin. The first letter **b** is a historiated initial: a young boy, facing a seated lion, forms the lower part, while another boy raising a stick and holding a hare forms the vertical and horizontal bars of the letter.

The floral ornaments drawn in the margins, at the beginning of the daily readings, are occasionally replaced by single figures or small compositions: fol. 8, a shepherd with his flock; fol. 9v., Matthew writing, partly erased; fol. 21, Paul; fol. 76, Job, kneeling, head raised towards the Hand of God; fol. 85, Moses, kneeling, above him the bust of God with a triangular nimb, and in front of him the high boots he has taken off; fol. 89, Luke seated with an open book; fol. 96, Matthew writing; fol. 100, Mark writing; fol. 105, John(?) seated with an open book; fol. 114, Paul, almost entirely erased; fol. 130, Zechariah standing; fol. 137v., Jeremiah standing; fol. 139, Matthew writing; fol. 163, John the Baptist; fol. 216, Constantine.

Narrow ornate bands precede the following lections: fol. 46v., Sunday of *Barekendan*; fol. 266, Sunday of the Assumption; fol. 285, Sunday of the Holy Cross.

REMARKS. Except for the miniatures on foll. 8, 9v., 96, 114, 130, all the others had been cut off and have been recently restored to their proper places; several others which had also been cut off are now lost.

The portrait of the Evangelist on fol. 105 accompanies a lection from the Gospel of Mark, but the facial type is that of John.

The large tulips and the other naturalistic flowers of the headpiece, imitating the designs on the tiles and other potteries from Rhodes and Kutahiah, appear in some manuscripts of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The carefully drawn marginal figures and the historiated initial also recall the representations of the late 17th century.

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MENOLOGIUM

DATED A.D. 1489

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-3v., Calendar of saints and feasts; fol. 4v., Full-page miniature; foll. 5-255, Lections from Navasard i (11 Aug.) to K'aghots 28 (5 Jan.); fol. 255v., Full-page miniature; foll. 256-387, Lections from K'aghots 29 (6 Jan.) to Areg 16 (24 Mar.); fol. 387v., Full-page miniature; foll. 388-543v., Lections from Areg 16 (24 Mar.) to Avelyats 5 (10 Aug.); foll. 543v.-544v., Colophons.

Folios 543 and 544, with the end of the life of Barlaam and Joasaph and the colophon are on a different paper, added in A.D. 1588.

The text is the redaction of Gregory Dserents of Khlat' (1350-1426). The list of saints, except for minor omissions and occasional differences in date, is similar to that of the Menologium in the British Museum, Or. 4787.¹

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 36.5 × 25.5 cm.; written surface 28.5 × 19 cm.; 2 columns of 37 lines each. 544 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed stout paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink by two different

¹ Conybeare, *Catalogue*, pp. 167-80.

but contemporary hands. The first line of the first lection in each section, and the initials of the other lections are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the titles are in red *bolorgir*.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards with flap and three leather straps blind-tooled in front with a cross raised on steps; stamped border of interlacing ovals. End cover with similar border and a simple cross in the centre.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1489 in the town of Karkar, by the scribes Sahak and Bishop Mkrtitch for *mahtesi* Faratj and his wife Panu khat'un.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 255. 'Lord God, Jesus Christ, have mercy on the owner of this book Khutsi Faratj and on his parents, Khutsi Patran and Sirma and on his son Alek'sanos and on his wife Nakh Melik' . . . and on me the sinful and unworthy scribe, the bishop Ter Mkrtitch and on my parents, Hohannes and Munat' Melik' . . . (Written) at the gate of (the church of) the holy Theotokos, in the impregnable city called Karkar, in the year of the Armenians 938 (= A.D. 1489); (have mercy on) the readers and the listeners.'

Foll. 543^v.-544. Colophon of the second owner: 'Glory . . . to the Holy Trinity. . . . This holy book . . . was renovated anew in the year of the Armenians 1037 (= A.D. 1588), upon the request of the God-fearing and merciful *mahtesi* Ter Khatchatur, who in these bitter times went to the holy city of Jerusalem, through love of the sepulchre of Christ and the other holy sites of the feasts of Christ. With the guidance of the Holy Ghost, and with many difficulties and much suffering, being weak in body, he reached the holy city of Jerusalem. Having fulfilled his oath, he returned with the same guidance of the Holy Ghost and with great joy to his home . . . and received (this book). . . . And now, I beseech you . . . say "God have mercy" on the God-loving priest *mahtesi* Khatchatur, and on his pious parents Hndik and T'orvand, on his wife Maran, on his son Mamlak'at' and his daughters Alt'un, Safar and Mariam. . . . Ter Khatchat'ur, the *mahtesi*, ordered this book to be illuminated and renovated. . . .'

The name of the first owner is written at the end of the daily readings: 'Christ have mercy on the owner of this book, *mahtesi* Faratj, and on his wife Pana khat'un, and on his children Alik'sianos and Sara.' These words are usually followed by the name of one of the scribes: 'and on the scribe Sahak, and on those who read'; and sometimes by the name of the other scribe: 'and on the writer of this, Bishop Mkrtitch'. Beginning with fol. 295, a narrow strip of paper has been pasted over these lines bearing the names of the second owner, Khatchatur, and of his family; their names also appear in the lower margins, almost throughout the manuscript: 'of Ter Khatchatur and of his parents, and of his wife Maran, and of his child Mamlak'at'.

Foll. 544^v.-545. ' . . . the overseer of the church (name torn off) and with the consent of the deputy T'umadjan and the contributions and funds of the people. You who encounter this, I beseech you to remember (us), with one "God have mercy", and to say "God have mercy" on those who laboured first and last, and on all the dead, and may you receive part of the mercy of God, for ever. Amen. Our Father who art. This was done in the year 1145 (= A.D. 1696).'



On the leaf preceding fol. 1 there is a half-effaced inscription, in *notrgir*. 'In the year 1078 (= A.D. 1629), I, Simeon vardapet, came to Halip'iar(?) and was very well . . .' A later hand has added the date 1175 (= A.D. 1726).

On the lower margin of fol. 313v. there is a short notice in *notrgir*, written by a priest Ter Hohan during the fast of St. Sargis, asking for prayers.

The scribes of the manuscript have occasionally written short verses in the lower margins (foll. 337v., 339, 390v., 425) and personal remarks, such as: fol. 118, 'Ah me, it is cold and frosty, my hands are cold and I cannot write': fol. 142v., 'Ah me, the wasps are annoying me exceedingly'; on fol. 462 he notes that 'the sun was darkened in the year 937 (= A.D. 1488), on 8 July'.

The manuscript belonged previously to the Andonian Congregation in Ortakeuy, near Constantinople, and the seal of the library is stamped twice on fol. 1. Catalogue entry inside the front cover by the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 4v., *Saint Gregory the Illuminator and King Trdat*. Pl. 40.

Fol. 255v., *Nativity*. Pl. 41.

Fol. 387v., *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. The three Marys approach from the left towards the angel seated next to the open sepulchre, in which can be seen the shroud and a rectangular object. Below, separated by a narrow band, the four sleeping soldiers are seated, close together; two axes, a mace, and a round shield lie on the ground. In the upper part of the miniature an architrave extends across the entire width and carries three concentric arches, flanked by two turrets with bulbous domes.

The large rectangular *headpieces* on foll. 5 and 256, with a multifoil arch opening into them, are decorated with floral scrolls and interlacing palms drawn against a coloured background. The headpiece on fol. 388 is Π -shaped and filled with intersecting palms forming squares. Narrow decorated bands are used as headpieces for the different months.

The marginal ornaments are mostly floral interlaces, occasionally birds or sirens. The only marginal miniature on fol. 81v. (22 Sept.) represents Jonah in the mouth of the whale.

REMARKS. The frontispiece, representing St. Gregory the Illuminator and King Trdat (Pl. 40), is connected only in a very general way with the first lection of the Menologium: the commemoration of the feast of John the Baptist established by St. Gregory after his return from Caesarea, where he had been ordained. The text relates the bringing of the relics of John the Baptist, the miracles which took place, and recalls the destruction of the pagan temples of Armenia. There is no reference to the meeting between Gregory and the King which, according to the life of Gregory by Agathangelus, took place later.¹ This episode had been represented in the church of St. Gregory at Ani, built by Grigor Honents in 1215; the king surrounded by his friends and his army, all on horseback, sets out to greet Gregory.² The miniature in our manuscript is a greatly simplified version of this scene to which have been added other elements borrowed from the legendary story of the saint. The monster which is

¹ V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867, vol. i, pp. 176-7.

² A. Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, vol. iii, opp. p. 60.



being trampled by the king's horse may have a symbolical meaning, like the dragons represented elsewhere in the Baptism or the Harrowing of Hell, and might be interpreted as figuring the triumph over Satan brought about by the conversion of the Armenians, and the destruction of the pagan temples. But as Gregory stands on the dragon's head it is more probable that it has been introduced here to recall the serpent's pit into which Gregory had been cast by order of the king. In other illuminated manuscripts, for instance in the marginal miniature on p. 207 of the Lectionary no. 599 of this collection, Gregory is represented standing on the serpents. The architectural setting should also be connected with an episode of the life of St. Gregory, namely his famous vision when he saw four large columns, with crosses rising above them, and joined by four large arches.¹ Only three arches and one column have been represented here, but the prominence given to the cross over the column clearly indicates that the illustrator of this manuscript, or his model, had this vision in mind.

In the Nativity, combined as usual with the Adoration of the Magi (Pl. 41), the painter has replaced the usual segment of sky with the star, in the upper part of the composition, by a medallion framing the Virgin and Child, a repetition on a smaller scale of the figures represented below. I know of no other similar example. It is possible that in the model the medallion appeared in the headpiece—like the medallion with the Virgin and Child and Joseph introduced into the headpiece of the Christmas lection in Codex no. 606 (fol. 233) of this Collection, and the copyist of our manuscript may have transferred the figures into the full-page miniature. Misrepresentations or a faulty copy of the model appear in other parts of the miniature. The Virgin has no seat and the Child is precariously seated on a small branch on which there seems to be a wooden back-rest. The heads and necks of the ass and the ox protrude from the side of the cave; the Magi present their gift to Joseph rather than to the Virgin and Child. The strange structure in front of Joseph may be a stylization of the hill next to which he is usually seated in other examples. Between Joseph's extended left arm and his nimb there is a conical object which closely resembles the caskets carried by the Magi in other manuscripts. But there can be no reason why Joseph should be shown with such an object, nor can it be said that he is holding it, for both his hands are visible; the left hand is raised, and the right one, passing under the left arm, rests on his knee.

The manuscript was copied at Karkar; there are two cities by this name, one in the north of Armenia, in the province of Lori, the other south of Lake Van. The latter is probably the city mentioned in the colophon, for the style of the miniatures is fairly close to the work done in the general region of Lake Van, such as the illustrations of the Gospel in the Bodleian Arm. e. 1, executed in 1497 at Aght'amar, or those of a Gospel of the Boston Public Library copied at Berkri in 1475.²

The statement made by the second owner, that he 'ordered this book to be illuminated and renovated', remains obscure. One could suppose that the miniatures were added later on the pages which were left blank, but the colours of these miniatures are the same as those which have been used for the headpieces, and all the paintings seem to be by the same hand, so far as it is possible to compare figure representations with

¹ V. Langlois, op. cit., pp. 157-8.

² S. Der Nersessian, 'An Armenian Gospel of the

Fifteenth Century', in the *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, Jan. 1950, pp. 3-20.



ornamental designs. The figure style is more typical of the late 15th century, though a late-16th-century date is not impossible.

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MENOLOGIUM (fragment)

DATED A.D. 1683

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Single leaf with the lection for K'aghots 29 (6 January): Birth and Theophany of Christ; the text ends on the verso with the words 'and the princes and the principals of the city said: "O king"'.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 42 × 30 cm.; written surface 31 × 19.2 cm.; 2 columns of 38 lines each.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink; the first line of the lection is in floral and zoomorphic letters, the next two lines are in red and blue *erkat'agir*.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Copied in 1683 at Tokat by Mkrtum for the brothers Ohannes, Balthazar, and Minas (see 'Remarks').

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Headpiece.* Pl. 57. The delicate linear design is painted pink, violet, blue, red, and green against a pale gold background.

REMARKS. This page is fol. 243 of a Menologium which had been brought from Sivas to Paris by Mr. Indjoudjian, and described by Macler in 1909, shortly before it was offered for sale. The present location of the manuscript is not known to me, but there can be no doubt about the identification, for this page was reproduced by Macler.¹ According to the colophon the manuscript had been copied in the year 1132 of the Armenians (= A.D. 1683) at Tokat, under the protection of the church of St. Barsam by the scribe Mkrtum, a native of Shosh (Ispahan), for the three brothers, the pilgrims Ohannes, Balthazar, and Minas.²

Large headpieces were painted above the principal divisions of the text on foll. 8, 243, and 384; there were full-page miniatures representing the Adoration of the Magi and the Resurrection of Christ, and a number of portraits of saints were painted in the margins.³

Four other manuscripts illustrated at Tokat by Mkrtum (who also signs his name as Mkrtitch), once in the possession of Mr. Indjoudjian, are now in the Margossian-Esmérian Collection, in Paris: no. 7, a Menologium, dated A.D. 1656; no. 9, a Gospel, dated A.D. 1661; no. 6, a Lectionary, dated A.D. 1679; no. 10, a Gospel which bears no date.⁴ In 1684 Mkrtum copied a Gospel which was illustrated by Mik'ayel, son of the scribe Bargham, a painter of great ability (Jerusalem, no. 3144). Mkrtum has also

¹ S. Abdullah and F. Macler, 'Études sur la miniature arménienne', in *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, ii (1909), pl. XL and fig. 3.

² Ibid., pp. 280-2.

³ Ibid., figs. 1-20, and F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pl. LVII, figs. 156, 157.

⁴ Several miniatures and the Canon tables of the Gospel of A.D. 1661 have been reproduced by A. Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, vol. i, plates opposite pp. 30 and 96; vol. ii, pp. 29, 226, and 242. Two marginal miniatures of the undated Gospel are also reproduced in *Roseraie*, vol. ii, pp. 244 and 311.

signed several other manuscripts which he copied in 1687, 1693, and 1698,¹ and the Sermons of Gregory of Tat'ev which bear no date.²

Mkrtum or Mkrtitch, a native of Ispahan, must have received his training at Tokat, in Asia Minor, for his paintings are closer, in many respects, to the work done at Tokat than to the illustrations of the manuscripts from Ispahan. Like many of his contemporaries, he shows far greater ability in the ornamental designs than in the figure representations. The large headpieces, as well as the marginal ornaments, are drawn with great delicacy and accuracy, as may be seen from the example in this collection (Pl. 57).

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MENOLOGIUM

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–315v., Daily readings from 23 October, Life of James, brother of the Lord, to 30 April, Martyrdom of the 160 Virgins in Antioch.

Lacunae. At the beginning: first part of the year from 11 August (Navasard 1) to 22 October; at the end: from the last part of 30 April to the end of the year, 10 August. One folio after fol. 121 with the beginning of the lection of Christmas Day, 6 January, and another after fol. 257 with the end of the life of Mirak' of Tabriz on 24 March.

The text follows the redaction of Gregory of Khlat', known as Gregory Dserents (1350–1426). The list of saints varies only slightly from that of the Menologium of the British Museum, Or. 4787.³ The lives of the following saints of a later date have been added: foll. 71–72, 9 Dec., David of Kharberd (A.D. 1474) and Khatchatur, martyred at Amida (A.D. 1517); foll. 194v.–196, 22 Feb., Hohannes of Khlat' (A.D. 1438); foll. 228v.–230v., 14 Mar., the famous rhetor, the great *vardapet* Grigor, that is Gregory Dserents the compiler of the Menologium (A.D. 1426); foll. 256v.–257v., 24 Mar., Mirak' of Tabriz (A.D. 1486); foll. 300–1, 19 Apr., Bishop Hohannes, martyred at Bitlis (A.D. 1463).⁴

The following homilies do not occur in the Menologium of the British Museum: foll. 24–25, 7 Nov., Arak'el *vardapet* on the Celestial Hosts; foll. 119–21v., 5 Jan., the same on the Virgin and on the Birth of Christ; foll. 130–3v., 9 Jan., rhymed homily by the same on the Virgin; foll. 182v.–184v., 14 Feb., the same on the Presentation of Christ; foll. 237–40, 17 Mar., Gregory the philosopher on the Entry into Jerusalem.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 42 × 29 cm.; written surface 30.5 × 19.5 cm.; 2 columns of 39 lines each. 315 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Lightly glazed, yellowish paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of fol. 258 and the initials of the daily readings are in floral or zoomorphic letters. The date and the first two lines of the daily readings are written in red ink.

¹ Etchmiadzin, Karenian Catalogue, nos. 1352 and 104; Alishan, *Sisakan*, p. 336.

² Etchmiadzin, new no. 52: *Etchmiadzin*, April–June, 1951, p. 86.

³ Conybeare, *Catalogue*, pp. 167–80.

⁴ For the lives of these saints see E. Manandian and H. Adjarian, *The Neo Martyrs of Armenia* (in Armenian). Vagharshapat, 1903, pp. 306–8, 350–3, 284–98, 264–74, 322–8, 299–304.

BINDING. Modern, brown leather over boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century. Written by Astvadsatur, son of the priest and scribe Mkrtitch, for the pilgrim Pap, at Tokat (see 'Remarks').

COLOPHONS. The names of the owner and of various members of his family are written at the end of each daily reading; sometimes the scribe has also added his name; e.g. fol. 121v., '... and especially the owner of this book the God-loving *mahtesi* Pap and his parents, his father Melk'on, his mother Zmrut', his brothers *mahtesi* Martiros, Mkrtitch and Grigor, his sister *mahtesi* Melek', his son Poghos, his wife T'urvanda and her brother Varderes, his daughter Hrip'simé and all their relatives, also the unskilled scribe Astvadsatur and my parents the priest and scribe Mkrtitch and my poor mother and all our connexions'.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 258. The *headpiece* of the lection of the Resurrection is decorated with a floral scroll. Narrow decorative bands, occupying the width of one column, are painted at the beginning of each month: foll. 25, 70v., 127, 171, 221v., 285. The marginal ornaments of the lections are replaced by the following miniatures: fol. 20, 8 Nov., an angel; fol. 43, 21 Nov., temple; fol. 96, 25 Dec., David and James, brother of the Lord; fol. 98, 26 Dec., Stephen protomartyr, kneeling in prayer; fol. 101, 27 Dec., Peter and Paul; fol. 103, 28 Dec., John and James, sons of thunder; fol. 181, 14 Feb., Presentation of Christ: the Virgin, holding the Child, stands under an elaborate ciborium; fol. 237, Palm Sunday, a tree.

REMARKS. The headpiece of fol. 258, the only remaining one in the manuscript, is an exact copy of the corresponding headpiece of the Menologium copied at Tokat in 1683,¹ to which belonged the single leaf which has just been described (no. 603). The only difference between these two pages appears in the script and in the disposition of the text: the title of the daily reading is omitted in our Menologium and there are a greater number of lines on the page.

In the brief notes added at the end of the daily readings the scribe Astvadsatur names his father, the priest and scribe Mkrtitch. In the colophon of a Gospel written in 1686 Astvadsatur gives further particulars: he states that he is a native of Tokat and that his father, the priest and scribe Mkrtitch, taught him the art of illumination.² Our scribe is therefore the son of Mkrtitch, or Mkrtum, the scribe of Codex no. 603. This is further corroborated by the colophons of the manuscripts copied by Mkrtum or Mkrtitch of Tokat who mentions his son Astvadsatur in the Gospel of A.D. 1661, and explains in the Lectionary of A.D. 1679 that his son Astvadsatur assisted him in the writing and binding of the manuscript.³

The fine design of the headpiece of our manuscript shows that Astvadsatur was already an accomplished painter when he illustrated this Menologium; it must therefore have been written after 1679, when he was only an assistant, and possibly after 1683, the date of the Menologium written by his father and in which we find a headpiece identical with the one on fol. 258. The Gospel written by Astvadsatur in 1699 (Jerusalem, no. 2634), and illustrated with full-page miniatures and the portraits of the

¹ Abdullah and Macler, *Études sur la miniature arménienne*, pl. XLI.

² Lalayan, *Catalogue*, coll. 966-8.

³ Paris, Margossian-Esmérian Coll., nos. 9 and 6.



Evangelists, shows the work of a mature artist; our Menologium must be dated fairly close to this manuscript.

In his figure representations Astvadsatur does not imitate the style of his father as faithfully as he had copied the ornamental designs. The proportions are less elongated, the movement is less lively, and in modelling the faces he does not use the dark shadows around the eyes which are a characteristic feature of the style of Mkrtum.¹

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MENOLOGIUM

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–295, Daily readings, from K'aghots 28 (16 Dec.), end of the life of Patapius of Egypt, to the last day of the year, Avelyats 5 (10 Aug.).

Lacunae. An important section at the beginning, from the first day of the year Navasard 1 (11 Aug.) to K'aghots 28 (16 Dec.); one folio after fol. 45, end of the lection for Christmas Eve (5 Jan.); one folio after fol. 46, beginning of the lection for Christmas Day (6 Jan.); one folio after fol. 61, end of the lection for 14 Jan. and beginning of the life of Peter of Alexandria (15 Jan.); one folio after fol. 138, end of the life of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia (9 Mar.); 6 folios after fol. 151, from the end of the life of Cyril of Jerusalem (18 Mar.) to about the middle of the life of Benedict (22 Mar.); three quires after fol. 201, from the end of the life of Abda (14 Apr.) to about the middle of the life of Theodore (11 May); several folios after fol. 270, from the end of the life of Pancratius (14 July) to the life of Anastasia and companions (27 July); several folios after fol. 295, end of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, and the colophon.

The text is the redaction of Grigor Dserents of Khlat'. The list of saints follows very closely that of the Menologium in the British Museum, Or. 4787.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 40.5 × 27 cm.; written surface 30.5 × 18.5 cm.; 2 columns of 40 lines each. 295 + 5 folios.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards; border of stamped quatrefoils; diagonal ruling; quatrefoils at cross-lines.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Irregular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of fol. 165 and the initials of the daily readings are in zoomorphic letters; the first line is written in gold, the second in red. Double red lines frame each column of text; leaves and fleurons are painted in the angles.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century. Written by the elder Khatchatur for Step'annos *vardapet*.

COLOPHONS. The principal colophon is lost, but at the end of each daily reading the scribe adds a short notice giving his name and that of the owner; e.g. fol. 33: 'May Christ God have mercy upon the owner of this book, Step'annos *vardapet* and on his

¹ Abdullah and Macler, op. cit., figs. 8–20.

parents Hazar and Manash, and on his wife Khanzat, and his brother Pehroz, on Hohannes, Martiros, Malum, and on the foolish scribe, the elder Khatchatur, on those who read and those who listen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 46v. *Adoration of the Magi* (Pl. 58).

Fol. 164v., *Resurrection*. Christ, nude save for a loin-cloth and a purple mantle, holds the bannered cross and rises from the tomb, surrounded by clouds drawn in a semicircle. The slab of the sarcophagus is placed diagonally in the opening; a soldier leans against it, another looks up towards Christ; a third soldier stands on the left of the sarcophagus while his companion kneels, holding a lance. Gold background.

The portraits of the following saints are painted in the outer margins at the beginning of their Lives. Fol. 3, 17 Dec., Ignatius of Antioch; fol. 7, 19 Dec., Gregory the Illuminator kneeling, hands raised towards an angel; fol. 10, 21 Dec., Addai of Edessa; fol. 12v., 23 Dec., Thaddeus, apostle; fol. 17, 25 Dec., David and James, the brother of the Lord; fol. 20, 26 Dec., Stephen, the protomartyr; fol. 24, 27 Dec., Peter and Paul holding a church; fol. 26, 28 Dec., John and James, the sons of thunder; fol. 32, 31 Dec., Abgar, king; fol. 33, 1 Jan., Basil; fol. 38v., 2 Jan., Sylvester, pope; fol. 50v., 7 Jan., John the Baptist (Pl. 60a), inscription on the scroll: 'a voice crying in the wilderness'; fol. 52, 8 Jan., Theophilus; fol. 55v., 10 Jan., Gregory of Nyssa; fol. 58v., 12 Jan., Mevor-tius; fol. 61, 14 Jan., John the Baptist, winged, holding a scroll with the inscription: 'a voice crying in the wilderness'; fol. 63, 16 Jan., John the Poor; fol. 64, 17 Jan., Anthony, hermit; fol. 65v., 18 Jan., Theodosius, emperor; fol. 68v., 19 Jan., Athanasius; fol. 70, 20 Jan., Euphrosine; fol. 75, 24 Jan., Clement of Ancyra; fol. 75b, 25 Jan., Gregory of Nazianzus; fol. 77v., 27 Jan., John Chrysostom; fol. 79, 28 Jan., Ephrem the Syrian; fol. 81v., 30 Jan., Theophilus (Pl. 59a); fol. 82v., 31 Jan., Sargis the general on horseback, behind him his son Martiros; fol. 85v., 1 Feb., Barsuma, hermit; fol. 93, 8 Feb., Abraham the Persian; fol. 96v., 11 Feb., Evagrius; fol. 98v., 12 Feb., Marina; fol. 100, 13 Feb., Martianus; fol. 102, 14 Feb., Simeon holding the infant Jesus; fol. 104v., 16 Feb., Jude, apostle; fol. 105v., 17 Feb., Theodore (Pl. 59b); fol. 108, 19 Feb., Mesrop; fol. 109, 20 Feb., Nestorius of Cyrene; fol. 110, 21 Feb., James, apostle; fol. 112, 22 Feb., Cornelius; fol. 117v., 26 Feb., Claudia, empress; fol. 119v., 27 Feb., Eliseus *vardapet*; fol. 120v., 28 Feb., Charitina; fol. 127, 1 Mar., Eudocia; fol. 131, 4 Mar., Mark, hermit; fol. 133, 5 Mar., Conon, hermit; fol. 134v., 6 Mar., Porphyrius of Gaza; fol. 135v., 7 Mar., Basiliscus of Cherson; fol. 136v., 8 Mar., Euphrosinea; fol. 138v., 9 Mar., Forty Martyrs of Sebastia, only their heads are visible; above them forty crowns and Christ blessing; to the left one of the forty entering a small, circular bath-house; fol. 145v., 15 Mar., the three children in the fiery furnace; above, an angel; fol. 148v., 17 Mar., Alexius, the man of God; fol. 150v., 18 Mar., Cyril of Jerusalem; fol. 155, Good Friday, Christ on the Cross, Mary and John at the sides; fol. 159v., 23 Mar., Mark of Arethusa; fol. 162v., 24 Mar., Mark, evangelist; fol. 171v., 27 Mar., Catherine of Alexandria; fol. 173, 28 Mar., Vahan of Goght'n; fol. 176v., 30 Mar., Lucius of Cyrene; fol. 180v., 1 Apr., Mary the Egyptian; fol. 182, 2 Apr., Mark, hermit; fol. 185, 3 Apr., Mark the Roman; fol. 190, 7 Apr., Virgin of the Annunciation, kneeling; above her, the angel flying; fol. 192, 8 Apr., Hamazasp (or Sahak); fol. 198, 12 Apr., Crescentius; fol. 199v., 13 Apr., Sabas

the Goth; fol. 203, 12 May, Germanus, patriarch; fol. 204, 13 May, Epiphanius; fol. 205v., 14 May, Glyceria; fol. 207, 16 May, Zechariah, prophet, holding a scroll with the inscription: 'behold, I saw seven lamps'; fol. 212v., 21 May, Constantine and Helena holding a large cross; fol. 214v., 23 May, John of the Pit, his bust emerges from a well; fol. 219, 26 May, Simeon Stylites; fol. 222v., 29 May, Sahak; fol. 223v., 30 May, Justinus of Rome; fol. 227, 2 June, Moses the Aetheopian; fol. 230, 5 June, Philemon; fol. 230v., 6 June, Cyril of Jerusalem (Pl. 60b); fol. 232, 7 June, Hesychius; fol. 232v., 8 June, Theodore, on horseback, piercing a dragon; fol. 235v., 10 June, Olbianus, bishop; fol. 236, 11 June, Barnabas, apostle; fol. 237, 12 June, Onuphrius; fol. 238, 13 June, Timotheus; fol. 238v., 14 June, Christopher, cynocephalus, partly erased; fol. 240v., 16 June, Cyriacus and Paraskeve; fol. 241v., 17 June, Elisha holding a scroll with the inscription: 'the prophet Elisha was from the tribe'; fol. 244, 19 June, Joseph of Dvin; fol. 245v., 21 June, Julian; fol. 246b, 22 June, Teotoros *abegha*; fol. 249, 25 June, Febronia; fol. 252, 29 June, Peter and Paul, holding a church; fol. 255v., 1 July, Cosmas and Damian; fol. 260, 7 July, Procopius; fol. 263, 9 July, Thomas of Canterbury; fol. 263v., 10 July, Agnes; fol. 264v., 11 July, Elizabeth holding the infant John the Baptist; fol. 266, 12 July, Orestes of Tyana; fol. 267, 13 July, Abdalmessiah; fol. 268v., 14 July, Pancratius of Tauromenium; fol. 272, 29 July, Titus, disciple; fol. 272b, 30 July, Catholicos Gregory, son of Gregory Magistros; fol. 276, 3 Aug., Dalmatius; fol. 278, 4 Aug., Moses, holding a scroll with the inscription: 'the prophet will raise you'; fol. 279v., 6 Aug., Transfiguration; fol. 283, 8 Aug., Dometius; fol. 285, 10 Aug., Joasaph kneeling before Barlaam; the margin, with part of the figure of Joasaph, has been trimmed.

Only the large *headpiece* for the lection of Easter is preserved (fol. 165). The rectangle, with a multifoil arch opening into it, is decorated with floral motifs and interlaces disposed in the form of lozenges, and painted against a gold background. In the centre is a medallion with the representation of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre.

Narrow bands, decorated with floral scrolls, are drawn at the beginning of each month (foll. 33v., 85v., 127, 180v., 226, 255v., 275). Marginal ornaments of floral interlaces, or birds, accompany the daily readings whenever there are no marginal miniatures.

REMARKS. The iconography of the Resurrection (fol. 164v.) and other iconographic details, such as: the kneeling Virgin in the Annunciation (fol. 190), the kneeling Magi in the Adoration of the Magi (Pl. 58), the costume of the warrior saints, point to the 17th century. The mantle of the Virgin is draped like the mantles of the Evangelists in several manuscripts of this collection and in other Gospels of the 17th century;¹ the large rotunda in the background, flanked by two turrets, recalls the buildings represented in 17th-century manuscripts.²

The figures, though somewhat stiff, are carefully drawn and modelled with strong highlights. The artist uses a thick coat of paint, especially for these highlights. The long, narrow faces, with eyes set so close together that they sometimes seem to be squinting (Pl. 59a), differ from the usual Armenian types and are, in many ways, closer to the Greek works of the post-Byzantine period. For instance, the portrait of St. Cyril (Pl. 60b) recalls the icon of St. Gregory Palamas in the Byzantine Museum at Athens,

¹ See Codices nos. 581, 582, 584, and pp. 108, 115.

² Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, figs. 138, 146,

154. Jerusalem, nos. 1970 and 2593, dated A.D. 1651 and 1656.

both in the facial type and the style of painting, although the Armenian miniature is somewhat stiffer and more stylized.¹ The miniaturist of this manuscript has a great fondness for rich ornaments, as may be seen from the designs on the buildings in the Adoration of the Magi (Pl. 58) and even more so from the ornaments drawn on the armours (Pl. 59a) and the draperies. For instance, St. Stephen wears a white tunic decorated with vermillion flowers (fol. 20), and similar flowers are painted on the white mantle of St. Ephrem (fol. 79).

The most interesting among the marginal miniatures is the image of John the Baptist, winged like an angel (Pl. 60a and fol. 61), and holding a scroll with the inscription: 'a voice crying in the wilderness'. This iconographic type is ultimately derived from the prophecy of Malachi (iii. 1), repeated by Matthew (xi. 10), in connexion with John the Baptist: 'Behold, I send my messenger (ἄγγελος) and he shall prepare the way before me.' Moreover, the Church Fathers speak of John as 'an angel incarnate' who, at the time of the Baptism, was assisted by angels, for 'he performed the service in an angelic way though still within his human life'.²

The winged John the Baptist is very rarely represented in Armenian art; only two other examples are known to me,³ and its appearance is no doubt to be explained by the influence of Greek works of the post-Byzantine period. For although this type appears in the 13th century,⁴ it is only in the late 16th and the 17th centuries that it is frequently represented on Greek as well as on Russian icons. In these examples John sometimes holds a chalice with the 'Amnos', the nude Christ-Child;⁵ more often he holds a salver or bowl with his own severed head,⁶ or this bowl is placed on the ground before him.⁷ But there are also several works in which John holds a cross, or a scroll as in our miniature.⁸

The marginal scene of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia differs in one respect from the usual Armenian type of the 17th century, of which we have other examples in Codices nos. 592, 593, and earlier still in Codex no. 599. The miniaturist has added the figure of the young man who, unable to stand the cold, sought refuge in the bath-house which stood near by (fol. 138v.). This episode had been represented by Byzantine artists on an ivory of the 10th century and in monuments of a later date.⁹

¹ G. Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée byzantin d'Athènes*, Athens, 1932, fig. 58.

² E. Kantorowicz, 'Ivories and Litanies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v (1942), 71-72; id., *Laudes Regiae*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946, p. 49.

³ Vienna, Mekhitharist Library, no. 986, Hymnal, marginal miniature: F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pls. XLV-LII; this manuscript should be dated in the 17th century, and not in the 14th-15th century. Manchester, John Rylands Library, no. 5, Hymnal, 17th century, fol. 168.

⁴ The earliest example known so far is the painting in the 13th-century Serbian church of Arilje: other Serbian examples occur in the following century. N. Okunev, 'Un monument de l'art serbe du XIII^e siècle', *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, viii (1936), pl. ix and p. 235.

⁵ N. P. Likhachev, *Materialy dlia istorii russkago ikonopisaniia*, St. Petersburg, 1906, i, fig. 274; N. P.

Kondakov, *The Russian Icon*, Prague, 1928, vol. i, pl. LIX; Walter Haring, 'The Winged John the Baptist', *The Art Bulletin*, v (1922), pls. XIX. 1, XX. 3-4.

⁶ Likhachev, op. cit., vol. i, figs. 18, 19, vol. ii, fig. 665; Kondakov, op. cit., pl. LXIV.

⁷ N. P. Kondakov and E. H. Minns, *The Russian Icon*, Oxford, 1927; pl. XLVI. 1; W. Haring, op. cit., pl. XIX. 2; D. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, London, 1937, p. 80.

⁸ Likhachev, op. cit., figs. 120, 209, 653; A. Xyngopoulos, *Μουσείον Μπενάκη. Κατάλογος τῶν Εἰκόνων*, Athens, 1936, pl. 33, no. 43 and pp. 67-8 (three-quarter length figure); W. Haring, op. cit., pl. XXI, 6 and pl. XX. 5, where John is in the attitude of supplication.

⁹ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1930-4, vol. ii, p. 27 and pl. III; G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1936, vol. iii, pl. 161, and Text, vol. ii. 1, pp. 167-9.

In view of the influence of the Greek paintings evidenced by the style of the miniatures, by some of the costumes and, finally, by the iconographic types of the winged St. John and the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia, we can suppose that our manuscript was written at Constantinople¹ or in some other centre such as the Crimea where Byzantine models could be seen.²

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MENOLOGIUM

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-3v., Table of contents; fol. 4v., Full-page miniatures; foll. 5-231v., Daily readings from Navasard 1 (11 Aug.) to K'aghots 28 (5 Jan.); fol. 232v., Full-page miniature; foll. 233-353, Daily readings from K'aghots 29 (6 Jan.) to Areg 16 (24 Mar.); foll. 353v.-538, Daily readings from Easter Sunday to the end of the year; fol. 539, Colophon.

Lacunae. After fol. 3, table of contents from 30 May to the end of the year; after fol. 473, from the latter part of the life of Bonifacius (18 June) to the end of 20 June; after fol. 538, end of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph and, probably, the principal colophon.

The text is the redaction of Grigor Dserents of Khlat'. The list of saints follows that of the Menologium in the British Museum, Or. 4787.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 38.5 × 27 cm.; written surface: 28 × 17.5 cm.; 2 columns of 37 lines each. 539 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. *Bolorgir* in black ink. The first line of fol. 5 is written in anthropomorphic letters; the first lines of foll. 233 and 353v., are written in zoomorphic letters, the next two lines in blue and red *erkat'agir*; the initials of the daily readings are in floral or zoomorphic letters.

BINDING. Brown stamped leather over boards. Central panel with cross inside a lozenge and fleurons at the intersections of lines; border with rosettes between ruled lines. Three metal studs (broken); thongs missing.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century. Copied by Step'annos and Mat'eos for *mahtesi* Dserun of Aputchekh.

COLOPHONS. The name of the owner and sometimes that of the scribe are repeated after each Life; e.g. fol. 78: 'Read and remember the sinful scribe. And especially the owner of this book, *mahtesi* Dserun, native of Abutchekh, and his parents Mamré and Tjihhan, and his wife *mahtesi* Tjohar, and his brother Martiros, and the worthless scribe

¹ The Hymnal of Vienna, no. 986 (see p. 165, note 3), differs stylistically from our manuscript, but shows marked iconographic similarities not only in the presence of the winged John the Baptist but in the representation of the Resurrection, and especially in the Adoration of the Magi which is almost identical with the composition of our manuscript (Macler,

Miniatures arméniennes, figs. 122 and 106). Unfortunately the provenance of this Hymnal is not known, but it was probably executed in Constantinople.

² The influence of the icons of the post-Byzantine period is particularly apparent in the illustrations of a manuscript written at Cafá, in the Crimea, in 1632: New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 43.

Step'annos, and those who read and listen and say "God have mercy", Amen.' On foll. 457v. and 469v. another scribe by the name of Mat'eos is mentioned. On fol. 538 a brief note by a later hand states that the manuscript was rebound in 1179 (= A.D. 1703) at Abutchekh by the priest Ignatios and his sons Margar and Melk'on.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 4v. *St. Gregory and King Trdat.* Pl. 61. Inscription on the small scroll on the ground: Trdat who was changed into a pig.

Fol. 232v. *Adoration of the Shepherds; the Magi before Herod; Adoration of the Magi.* The page is divided into three registers. (1) The Virgin and Joseph kneel at the sides of the Christ Child lying on the ground; two shepherds, an old, nimbed man in an ample mantle and two other men wearing high bonnets stand around them. On the right is the manger with the ox and the ass, and in the distance a shepherd boy standing on a hill. Mountains in the background. (2) Herod, crowned, is seated on the right, and two women seem to be introducing the Magi who approach from the left. The first king prostrates himself, his crown is placed on the ground; the other two kings are kneeling, and three young attendants stand behind them. A wall, interrupted by domed turrets, fills the background. (3) The Virgin is seated on the left with the Christ Child on her knees (her face is smeared); Joseph stands behind her, leaning on his staff. The three Magi kneel before the Virgin; the crown of the first is placed on the ground; the three attendants stand behind them, holding gold caskets. In the background, on the right, two young men face a group of riders and seem to be showing the way. Mountains in the background.

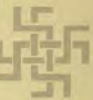
The *headpieces* of the three principal divisions (foll. 5, 233, 353v.) consist of large rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them and decorated with floral scrolls or floral motifs painted in blue, red, and green inside intersecting squares and lozenges; gold background. Confronted birds stand above the rectangles, and large ornaments of intersecting palmettes fill the outer margins. Two small trees, with a child climbing on each one, are drawn in the opening of the headpiece on fol. 5. In the headpiece of fol. 233 (6 Jan., Christmas), a small medallion frames the group of Joseph with the Virgin and Child.

Narrow bands, decorated with floral motifs tinted red, and drawn against a darker red ground, are placed at the beginning of each month on foll. 37v., 78v., 116v., 169, 220v., 271, 311v., 368v., 411v., 455, 488v., 523v.

Fol. 10, 15 Aug., Virgin orans; fol. 24, 23 Aug., Irenaeus; fol. 32, 29 Aug., Beheading of John the Baptist; fol. 34, 30 Aug., Philonides, bishop; fol. 52, 12 Sept., Autonomus, bishop; fol. 53, 13 Sept., a cross; fol. 55, 14 Sept., a cross; fol. 67, 22 Sept., Phocas, bishop; fol. 75v., 29 Sept., Chariton; fol. 81v., 3 Oct., Justina and a demon; fol. 84v., 5 Oct., Hrip'simé; fol. 86v., 6 Oct., Gayané; fol. 89v., 8 Oct., Pelagia; fol. 95v., 13 Oct., Mashtots; fol. 101v., 19 Oct., Joel, prophet; fol. 103v., 21 Oct., Hilarion, hermit; fol. 105, 22 Oct., Abercius, bishop; fol. 110, 26 Oct., Amphilochius, bishop; fol. 112v., 29 Oct., Nuné and Mané, virgins; fol. 121v., 3 Nov., Stephen, pope; fol. 127, 8 Nov., archangels Gabriel and Michael; fol. 135, 12 Nov., Miles, bishop; fol. 136, 13 Nov., John Chrysostom; fol. 138v., 15 Nov., Gurias; fol. 140v., 16 Nov., Matthew, evangelist; fol. 142, 17 Nov., Philip, apostle; fol. 153, 23 Nov., Gregory of Agrigentum; fol. 161v., 26 Nov., Clement, pope; fol. 163v., 27 Nov., Mercurius; fol. 165v., 29 Nov., Trdat, king; fol. 167, 30 Nov.,

Andrew, apostle; fol. 173v., 4 Dec., Barbara; fol. 176, 6 Dec., Paul, hermit; fol. 177v., 7 Dec., Zephaniah, prophet; fol. 179v., 8 Dec., Bartholomew, apostle; fol. 184v., 11 Dec., Nicholas of Myra; fol. 191v., 15 Dec., Jacob of Nisibis; fol. 196, 17 Dec., Ignatius of Antioch; fol. 199v., 19 Dec., vision of Gregory the Illuminator, kneeling, hands raised towards an angel; behind him a small, domed building; fol. 203v., 23 Dec., Thaddeus, apostle; fol. 207, 25 Dec., David, prophet; fol. 209v., 26 Dec., Stephen the protomartyr; fol. 212v., 27 Dec., Peter and Paul; fol. 214v., 28 Dec., John and James, sons of thunder; fol. 219v., 31 Dec., Abgar, king; fol. 225, 2 Jan., Sylvester, pope; fol. 243, 10 Jan., Christ; fol. 247v., 14 Jan., Visitation; fol. 249, 15 Jan., Peter, patriarch of Alexandria; fol. 251v., 17 Jan., Anthony, hermit; fol. 253, 18 Jan., Theodosius, emperor; fol. 255v., 20 Jan., Euphrosine; fol. 260, 24 Jan., Clement of Ancyra; fol. 261v., 25 Jan., Gregory of Nazianzus; fol. 264, 27 Jan., John Chrysostom; fol. 265v., 28 Jan., Ephrem the Syrian; fol. 268v., 31 Jan., Sargis on horseback with his son Martiros behind him; fol. 276, 6 Feb., Cyrus, physician; fol. 282v., 11 Feb., Evagrius, hermit; fol. 291, 17 Feb., Theodore the general, dressed as a priest; fol. 292v., 18 Feb., Sadoch, bishop; fol. 293v., 19 Feb., Mesrop; fol. 294v., 20 Feb., Nestorius, bishop; fol. 300, 24 Feb., a man holding the head of John the Baptist; fol. 302v., 26 Feb., cross; fol. 304, 27 Feb., Eliseus *vardapet*; fol. 316, 4 Mar., Mark, hermit, holding a child in his arms; fol. 320a.v., 7 Mar., Basiliscus, bishop; fol. 320b, 8 Mar., Euphrosinea; fol. 322v., 10 Mar., Theodosia; fol. 327, 13 Mar., Gregory, pope; fol. 328v., 14 Mar., Adam and Eve and the serpent; fol. 330, 15 Mar., the three children in the fiery furnace, and the angel, above, blessing them; fol. 336, 18 Mar., Cyril of Jerusalem; fol. 337v., 19 Mar., John of Jerusalem; fol. 346v., Good Friday, Crucifixion; fol. 349v., 23 Mar., Mark, bishop of Arethusa; fol. 352, 24 Mar., Mark, evangelist; fol. 356v., 25 Mar., Christ rises from the tomb holding a bannered cross; fol. 359v., 27 Mar., Catherine of Alexandria; foll. 377v. and 378, 7 Apr., Annunciation; fol. 384v., 11 Apr., Artemon, priest; fol. 389v., 15 Apr., Agapitus, pope; the head is torn off with the margin; fol. 398, 22 Apr., Theodore, hermit; fol. 399v., 23 Apr., George, on horseback; fol. 404v., 25 Apr., Erasmus, hermit; fol. 405v., 26 Apr., Basil of Amasea; fol. 408v., 29 Apr., Batas, hermit; fol. 410, 30 Apr., Pelagia; fol. 417v., 4 May, Silvanus, bishop; fol. 421v., 7 May, cross; fol. 425, 9 May, Vardenik, virgin; fol. 426v., 11 May, Massacre of the Innocents: two soldiers stand on the left, and one raises his sword and is about to kill a child he holds with the left hand; two bodies lie on the ground; a wailing mother faces one of the soldiers; fol. 431v., 14 May, Glyceria; fol. 434, 16 May, Zechariah, prophet; fol. 439, 19 May, Hyacinth; fol. 441, 21 May, Constantine, emperor; fol. 443, 23 May, John of the Pit, hermit; fol. 447, 25 May, Basiliscus; fol. 459, 6 June, Cyriacus; fol. 462v., 9 June, Antonina; fol. 471v., 17 June, Elisha, prophet; fol. 477, 25 June, Febronia; fol. 502v., 18 July, Marina of Antioch; fol. 504v., 20 July, Theodore, bishop; fol. 507v., 22 July, Gorandukht; fol. 508, 23 July, Phocas, bishop; fol. 509, 24 July, Stephen of Siunik'; fol. 510, 25 July, Ann; fol. 511, 26 July, Hermolaus; fol. 516v., 31 July, Leontius, priest; fol. 522, 5 Aug., Commemoration of the Tabernacle of Moses: nimbed man, kneeling; fol. 527, 8 Aug., Dometius, hermit; fol. 528, 9 Aug., Antoninus of Alexandria.

REMARKS. The provenance of this manuscript is not known, but it is quite possible that it was written at or near Abutchekh, a suburb of Egin, since the owner was



a native of Abutchekh and the manuscript was still there in 1730. The style of the miniatures is, however, totally different from Codex no. 582, written at Egin in 1675, and closer to the work of Mkrtum or Mkrtitch of Tokat, the scribe of Codex no. 603.¹ The tall figures with very small heads, the loosely hanging draperies, the facial types, the cone-shaped hills in the background find their parallels in the miniatures of Mkrtum, though they are clearly the work of a different and less-skilled painter.²

The headpiece of fol. 5 resembles those painted by Mkrtitch and his son Astvadsatur, in particular the headpieces of Codex no. 604. The anthropomorphic letters of the first line are typical of the manuscripts of the late 16th and 17th centuries; the figures are more slender than those painted by the Khizan artists. The initial is formed by Jonah in the mouth of the whale and an angel, holding an open scroll, who stands on the head of the whale.

The miniature of fol. 4v. (Pl. 61), the Healing of King Trdat by Gregory the Illuminator, illustrates the opening sentence of the first lection, the commemoration of the feast of John the Baptist; 'When Gregory illumined the Armenians and restored to Trdat, who had assumed a porcine aspect, his human shape and appearance, he went . . . to Caesarea.' The pig, half visible behind the king, has no doubt been placed there to suggest the strange metamorphosis of Trdat, but by representing three other pigs at the side, the painter has followed the iconographic type used in Gospel manuscripts for the healing of the demoniacs. The healing of Trdat is also represented in the frontispiece of a Menologium written in Constantinople in 1633 (Jerusalem, no. 66): Gregory blesses the kneeling Trdat, several pigs have been drawn at a short distance behind the king.³

The second miniature which faces the reading of Christmas Day shows the influence of Western iconographic types. In the Adoration of the Shepherds, the group of Joseph and Mary kneeling at the sides of the nude Christ Child is ultimately derived from paintings of the Italian Renaissance; the imitation of this distant model may also be seen in the costume of the young shepherd, on the left, and the halo of Joseph drawn in perspective. The iconographic type of the Adoration of the Child by Joseph and Mary had already been used by other Armenian painters; we find it, for instance, in the Gospel illustrated in 1609 by Mesrop of Khizan, Bodleian, Arm. d. 13, fol. 3v.

The second scene, the Magi before Herod, which has its place in the narrative cycles of Byzantine and other East Christian manuscripts,⁴ had also been represented in the 13th century in Cilicia.⁵ The costume of Herod, with a wide band over the breast imitating the loros of Byzantine emperors, might suggest a Greek derivation, but several elements in the composition, the servants of the Magi, the kneeling position of

¹ See pp. 159-160.

² Abdullah and Macler, *Études sur la miniature arménienne*, figs. 1-20.

³ There is considerable variety in the specific theme chosen by the illustrators for the first full-page miniature of the Menologia. For the most part they have selected a scene from the life of St. Gregory the Illuminator which does not bear directly on the main subject of the first lection, namely the feast of John the Baptist, but there are also exceptions. In a Menologium of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris,

Arm. 183, bound in 1487 and probably illustrated shortly before this date, Gregory the Illuminator and John the Baptist (and *not* Trdat as suggested by Macler, *Catalogue*, p. 102) stand facing one another. A similar composition occurs in a Menologium of A.D. 1698: Jerusalem, no. 1918.

⁴ G. Millet, *Iconographie*, figs. 82-86, 91, 93.

⁵ Erivan 222/7651; Tchobanian, *Roseraie*, iii. 230. The Gospel was completed in 1320 by Sargis Pidsak, who added the portraits of the Evangelists; the marginal miniatures were painted in the 13th century.



the Magi, the two attendants who introduce them to Herod, are foreign to the Byzantine tradition.

The last scene represents the Adoration of the Magi. In Armenian as well as in Byzantine manuscripts the Magi approaching on horseback are sometimes added to the composition,¹ as they are here; in a Cilician example of the 13th century (Jerusalem, no. 251, fol. 15v.) several attendants stand behind the Magi. However, this iconographic variant occurs more frequently in the art of the Renaissance and post Renaissance periods.²

The full-page miniatures are painted in fairly dark colours—red, violet, blue, yellow—against a gold background, while the marginal miniatures are tinted in very light colours.

607

RITUAL

DATED A.D. 1704

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1, Colophon; foll. 1v.–2v., Headings; fol. 3v., Miniature; foll. 4–316, Instructions and prayers for the various ceremonies; foll. 316–17v., Colophons.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.5 × 18 cm.; written surface 18.5 × 13 cm.; 2 columns of 27 lines each. 317 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper. *Bolorgir* in black ink; titles in red; a few ornate and zoomorphic initials.

BINDING. Thick vellum.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1704 at New Erevan by the priest Khatchatur.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 316v. 'Glory to the most Holy Trinity . . . with whose protection and with the help of the Holy Ghost was completed this holy writ . . . by the hand of the unworthy, sinful and unskilled scribe, the priest Khatchatur, for it was desired with ardent love and great faith by the pious.' Half a column is left blank, and the colophon continues on fol. 317. 'This was completed in the year of the Armenians 1153 (A.D. 1704), on the 10th of the month of November, during the reign in Persia of Shah Sultan Husain, and the prelacy of Ter Nahapet, catholicos of all the Armenians, and the primacy in our region of Alexander the theologian *vardapet* who is at Shosh (Ispahan). This was completed at New Erevan in the village called Marunan, at the gate of the Holy Saviour and Saint Stephen. . . . Remember me the scribe and elder Khatchatur and my son Step'annos, for we wrote this holy book together, and my parents Hohannes and Sapri khan . . . and him who received this from his rightful earnings' (the name is not filled in).

There are brief colophons, with the name of the scribe, on foll. 96, 194, and 256v. On

¹ G. Millet, *Iconographie*, 110–15.

² H. Kehrler, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908–9.



fol. 241, in a slightly different hand: 'The owner of this holy book, the *mahtesi* Sahak.' This Sahak is mentioned again, together with a certain Amir, in a colophon written in *notrgir* on fol. 317v., which also lists the vestments and manuscripts offered by these two men to the church they had erected. The colophon is dated A.D. 1709. On fol. 1, there is a shorter colophon in *notrgir*, dated A.D. 1707, written by the priest Step'annos of New Julfa.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 3v. *Foundation of a church.* A bishop, holding a book, stands in the doorway of a building; a priest and a deacon holding a candle stand behind him. On the right are the workmen; one of them is kneeling at the foot of a stone wall, an axe in his hand; the other stands on the top of the wall and lowers a plumb-line.

Fol. 83v. *Ordination scene.* A bishop, wearing a mitre and holding a book, bends slightly towards a deacon who is kneeling before him; another deacon, holding a censer, stands facing him, and around them stand three other deacons, one of them holding a candle, the other two holding rhipidia. Yellow background.

Fol. 97v. *Baptism.* John the Baptist, kneeling on one knee and holding a large cross, baptizes Christ who is nude save for a loin-cloth, and raises His clasped hands. The dove comes down from the sky in a yellow area surrounded by a cloud. Scribblings around the miniature, on the margins.

Fol. 257v. *Burial of a priest.* Two men carry on their shoulders a stretcher on which lies a priest. In the background are two priests, one holding a book, the other a cross and a censer; they are preceded by a choirboy holding a bannered processional cross and followed by another choirboy. In the foreground a man, kneeling, holds a net(?) in which can be seen a woman, also kneeling. Yellow background.

Ornate bands, some of them Π -shaped, precede the readings on foll. 4, 65v., 71, 84, 98, 118, 132v., 228v., and 258. The floral motifs, tinted blue and red, are drawn on a pale red background.

REMARKS. The first miniature, representing the foundation of a church,¹ is an exact replica of the composition painted by Hovsep' of Aght'amar in a Ritual he illustrated in 1530 (Jerusalem, no. 302). The ordination scene, with the kneeling deacon or priest, follows an iconographic type already used in the fourteenth century, as may be seen from a Ritual in the Library of Antilias illustrated by Sargis Pidsak in 1328. In the manuscripts of the 13th century the deacon stands instead of kneeling; for instance in the Ritual of the Mekhitharist Library in Venice, no. 1657,² or the Gospel of the Hachette Collection in Paris illustrated for the archbishop John, brother of King Het'um I.³ A burial scene very similar to the one in our manuscript occurs in a Ritual of the year 1704.⁴ The Baptism is an awkward imitation of a Western model.

¹ Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 1-10.

² S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens*, pl. xl and p. 103.

³ Ibid., pp. 103-4, V. Hatsuni, *History of Armenian Costume* (in Armenian). Venice, 1924, fig. 121.

J. Muijldermans, 'Le Costume liturgique arménien. Étude historique', *Le Muséon*, xxxix (1926), pl. III, fig. 4.

⁴ Hatsuni, op. cit., fig. 118; Muijldermans, op. cit., pl. IV, fig. 7.

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CHURCH CALENDAR

17TH-18TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-100, Feasts of the year beginning with Epiphany (6 Jan.); foll. 100-2, Rules concerning the selection of lections, hymns, prayers, &c., for various services; foll. 102-40, Lessons to be read on various feast days; fol. 140v., Hagiody. The manuscript had belonged previously to the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop Malachia Ormanian, and bears his seal on fol. 2.

Lacunae. Several folios at the beginning and at the end.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 10 × 3.5 cm.; written surface, 7.3 × 3 cm.; single columns of 17 lines. 140 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper, frayed and rounded at the corners. *Bolorgir* in black ink; initials in dark purple. The folios are sewn together at the bottom instead of at the side.

BINDING. None. Vellum case in the shape of a flask.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHONS. None.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. None.

609

PHYLACTERY

18TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Long scroll with the following texts and prayers: (a) Jn. i. 1-14; Mt. viii. 5-17 and iii. 13-17; Lk. iv. 40-41; (b) Prayer of St. Nerses the Gracious for the twenty-four hours of the day, *Havatorv khostovanim*; (c) Passage from the Elegies of Gregory of Narek; prayer 'from the depth of the heart'; (d) Prayers to the Virgin and to the Holy Cross; (e) Prayer to St. Sargis and to his son St. Martiros; (f) Prayer to the holy Archangels; (g) Prayer against persecution by demons, sorcerers, &c.; (h) Explanation of the magic formula of the Letter of Abgar.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 450 × 7 cm.; width of text 4.5 cm.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin paper mounted on fine linen. *Notrgir*. The initials of the prayers are in gold and red ornate letters; the first line is in red *notrgir*.

BINDING. None.



DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 18th century. Written for a certain Ovanes, who may also be the scribe.

COLOPHONS. The name of the owner, Khodja Ovanes, is added at the end of each prayer. At the end of the explanation of the magic formula: 'I write this writing and keep it. May Christ God be the medicine and the doctor.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. At the beginning of the scroll two intersecting palmettes inscribed in a quatrefoil are followed by a floral interlace and a large cross flanked by two birds; two other birds stand on the cross. Before (*a*), an Evangelist seated in front of a lectern with a book; before (*b*), floral ornament and portrait of St. Nerses, wearing the mitre, blessing, and holding a book; before (*c*), floral ornament and portrait of Gregory of Narek, dressed as a monk, blessing, and holding a book; before (*d*), a seraph and the crowned Virgin enthroned, with Christ Child; before (*e*), a six-pointed star and St. Sargis, with the child Martiros behind him, seated on a horse and piercing a dragon with his lance.

610

PHYLACTERY

18TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fragment of a phylactery similar to no. 609, but without any text.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 43 × 10.2 cm.

PAPER AND WRITING. Yellow paper mounted on a cardboard. Inscription in *bolorgir*.

BINDING. None.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 18th century. Written for Mirza djan.

COLOPHONS. Above: 'The servant of God Mirza djan. Amen.' Below: 'Of the servant of God Mirza.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. A saint, mounted on a prancing horse, pierces a dragon with his lance. The saint wears a bodice of mail chain and holds a mace in his right hand. Below, a large roundel with intersecting palmettes.

611

HISTORY BY SAMUEL OF ANI

DATED A.D. 1777

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 3, Preface; foll. 4-31v., Complete text giving chronology and events from the birth of Christ to A.D. 1180; foll. 32-35, Continuation of the Chronicle till A.D. 1352; fol. 35, Colophon.



MEASUREMENTS. 38 × 25.5 cm.; written surface, 29.7 × 17.7 cm.; 35 lines on each page. The dates are written in the middle of the page, the names and events at the sides. Large passages of the narrative are sometimes written in a single column. 35 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed white paper. *Notrgir* in black ink. Zoomorphic initial on the first page; the initials of the paragraphs are in red *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Paper on cardboard.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1777 in Constantinople by Nikoghayos for the patriarch Zak'aria.

COLOPHON. Fol. 35. 'It was written in the year of the Armenians 1226 (= A.D. 1777) on the 4th of the month of July, having made this collection of the writings of the historians concerning the chronology from past times to the present by the priest Samuel of Ani, for the use of the archbishop Ter Zak'aria, the orthodox and patriot *vardapet* and patriarch in this great metropolis of Constantinople, in the fourth year of his patriarchate, by the hand of the *tiratsu* and notary Nikoghayos. Not having found the author I worked very hard. Because of this, if any mistakes should be found, please forgive and in your pure prayers remember with one "Our Father"; and you who remember, may you be remembered by Christ, our Saviour, who is blessed for ever, Amen.'

612

COSMOLOGY

DATED A.D. 1791

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Page 1, 'The science of the earth, contained in two volumes, assembled from the writings of the Egyptians according to the translation of the Ptolemaic philosophers. By the authorship and care of the deacon Teodoros of Erzuka, for the glory of God and the benefit of the students of the Armenian nation. During the patriarchate on the brilliant throne of holy Etchmiadzin of Ter Ghukas, the blessed catholicos of all the Armenians, and during the patriarchate in the imperial metropolis of Constantinople of Ter Zak'aria, the patriot and theologian *vardapet*. In the year 1791 and in (the year) 1140 of the Armenians;' pp. 2-32, Introduction on the science of the Earth in general; pp. 33-46, Exhortation to young students; pp. 51-206, Astronomy, based on Arabic sources; pp. 207-44, Geography; pp. 247-81, 'On the heavenly bodies.'

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18.5 × 15 cm.; written surface, 14.3 × 9.7 cm.; single column of 25 lines. 281 pages.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured paper, gilt edges. *Notrgir* in black ink. The titles are in red; the initials of the paragraphs and the proper nouns in red or green; zoomorphic initials for the first letter of each book.



BINDING. Dark green leather over boards, with gilt flowers and vine border stamped on both covers. Red and blue marbled paper inside.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1791 in Constantinople by the deacon T'eodoros of Erznka (Erzinjan).

COLOPHONS. Page 46. 'Through your graciousness remember the most humble servant, the deacon T'eodoros of Erznka, (in different writing) and the least worthy of pupils Mesrop Paghtasarian.' See also preface on p. 1 of the manuscript.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The *headpieces* of pp. 51, 113, 207, and 247 consist of rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with interlacing palmettes, palmette scrolls, and sprays of large flowers painted in bright colours on a light yellow background. There is a vase of flowers under each arch. Large flowers, birds, or interlacing palmettes are drawn in the margins of these pages.

P. 50 and p. 112. *Diagram of an astrolabe.*

P. 172. *Diagram of the world.* Circle divided into four sections by the diameters, which are marked as follows: East (on the top), West (on the bottom), North (on the left), South (on the right). The four sections are marked North East and North West, on the left, South East and South West on the right. A larger circle surrounds the first one and the intermediary space is divided into 72 parts. The 18 divisions of each section are marked by Armenian letters (corresponding to numerals) which go, by fives, from 5 to 90.

P. 211. *Diagram of the universe* in the shape of concentric circles with the earth in the centre.



SUPPLEMENT



FOUR GOSPELS

13TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 2v.-9, Canon tables; fol. 10v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 11-85, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 86v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 87-141, Gospel of Mark; fol. 142v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 143-225, Gospel of Luke; fol. 226v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 227-81v., Gospel of John; foll. 281v.-2, Colophons.

Lacunae. The Letter of Eusebius and the first folio of the Gospel of Matthew, ch. i. 1-10. The order has been disturbed at the beginning: foll. 5 and 6 (canon 10) should be between foll. 9 and 10.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 15.7 × 12 cm.; written surface 11.2 × 8.2 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 284 folios. Two vellum fly-leaves at the end taken from a large Lectionary written in the sloping, angular *erkal'agir* of the 12th century.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, singed and trimmed. Small, regular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first page of each Gospel and the initials of the pericopes are in floral letters.

BINDING. Green plush.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in Cilicia by the scribe Kirakos for Bishop Simeon, between the years 1226 and 1267.

COLOPHONS. Foll. 281v.-2. 'Glory to Thee infinite name and incomparable Father and Son and Holy Ghost. . . . With the grace of God I began, and through His mercy was completed this luminous, holy, and greatly desired Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus, by the hand of the sinful scribe Kiür (Kiürakos), upon the request of the holy bishop Ter Simeon, filled with grace, during the reign of the pious Het'um and the primacy of Ter Kostandin. You who encounter this, remember in your minds and hearts its owner, Ter Simeon, and his parents, and together with him the sinful scribe and my parents, and may Jesus, who is bountiful in His gifts, have mercy on those who remember and on those who are remembered, and glory to Him for ever. Amen.'

Fol. 282. In a later hand. 'The last owner of this holy Gospel, the priest Tiratsu and his parents, resting in Christ, and all his relatives remember them with a "Lord have mercy", for the remission of their sins, so that Christ God may have mercy on you who remember, and on those who are remembered, and glory to Him for ever.'

Cryptogram which reads: 'This Gospel belongs to Tiratsu.'

'In the year 797 (= A.D. 1348) this holy Gospel was received in memory of his soul and of his parents.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 10v. *Matthew* is seated, writing, in front of a low table; an open scroll is placed on the simple lectern. An angel coming



out of the segment of sky in the upper right corner, leans down towards Matthew. Inscription on the upper band of the frame: 'Matthew the Evangelist.'

Fol. 86v. *Mark* is seated, meditating, in front of a low table; a book is placed on the lectern which is in the shape of a fish. The Hand of God comes out of the segment of sky in the upper right corner; a drapery hangs from a loop attached to the upper band of the frame. Inscription on a narrow band above the lectern: 'Mark.'

Fol. 142v. *Luke* is seated writing, like Matthew. The Hand of God comes out of the segment of sky in the upper left corner, and a short ray of light from the segment on the right. Inscription on the upper band of the frame: 'Luke the Evangelist.'

Fol. 226v. *John* stands on the left, in front of a stylized mountain which frames his figure; his head is turned towards the ray of light descending from the segment of sky on the left, his right hand is raised, and he dictates to Prochoros seated on a low stool on the right. Inscriptions on two narrow bands separated by small flowers: 'John; Prochoros.'

The *Canon tables* consist of rectangles with inscribed arches or triangles, supported by three columns, and decorated with delicate floral scrolls painted against a gold background. The colours have flaked off in places, especially on foll. 2v., 3, and 4v. The *headpieces* are Π -shaped, and decorated with the same types of floral scrolls as the Canon tables. The marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel, and those of the pericopes are fairly simple, and present different combinations of floral interlaces. The colours of some of these ornaments have also flaked off.

REMARKS. The exact year and place of the copy are not mentioned in the colophon, but the references to King Het'um (1226–70) and to the catholicos Kostandin (1221–67) enable us to date this manuscript between the years 1226 and 1267. The owner, the Bishop Simeon, does not give any information about himself, but since Kirakos (or Kiurakos) was one of the principal scribes who worked at Hromkla, we may assume that Simeon was one of the bishops in the entourage of the catholicos, perhaps his kinsman by that name mentioned in the Gospel copied in 1244 by Kirakos.¹ In 1269 the abbot of the Andreasiants monastery in Cilicia was called Simeon,² and a Bishop Simeon is the owner of a manuscript written in 1279;³ however, the information available does not allow a closer identification.

The scribe Kirakos (to whom we have ascribed Codex no. 558) painted the headpieces, the elegant marginal ornaments, and the Canon tables, with the exception of those on foll. 5v.–6. The rectangles on foll. 8v. and 9 repeat the compositions of foll. 7v. and 8 of Codex no. 558 (Pl. 10), those on foll. 4v. and 7 are very close to the compositions on foll. 5v. and 6 (Pl. 9). The present manuscript being much smaller than the other Gospels illustrated by Kirakos,⁴ the general design of the Canon tables is simpler; a candlestick or simple floral ornaments are drawn on the outer margins next to the rectangles, and there are no birds on the trees placed next to the outer columns. The columns themselves are simpler in design, they always have floral capitals and bases, but the work shows the same elegance and high artistic quality as do the other manuscripts illustrated by this painter.

¹ Venice, no. 69: Sarghissian, *Catalogue*, i, col. 652.

² Venice, no. 900: *ibid.*, col. 495.

³ Etchmiadzin, no. 431/416: Catholicos Garegin I

Hovsep'ian, *Colophons of Manuscripts*, col. 501.

⁴ For the work of Kirakos see above, p. 29.



Foll. 5 and 6, which form a double leaf, and the folios with the portraits of the Evangelists are in a thicker vellum than the rest of the manuscript. The size and proportions of the Canon tables on foll. 5v.-6, the types of floral motifs, the colours and the writing are entirely different from the other Canon tables, and resemble the Canon tables painted by Sargis Pidsak.¹ The similarities with the work of this artist are even more apparent in the portraits of the Evangelists; the iconographic types, every detail of the style and costumes, the inscriptions with the names of the Evangelists, all point to Sargis Pidsak. We may, therefore, safely assume that these folios were added in 1348, when the manuscript passed into the hands of the priest Tiratsu. By a curious coincidence Codex no. 614, recently added to the Collection, was written and illustrated in 1342 for a priest also called Tiratsu. It is possible that these two are the same man, and that the priest Tiratsu, having already employed Sargis in 1342, called upon him again in 1348 when he acquired this new manuscript, and asked him to replace the folios which had been lost.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1342

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v.-10, Canon tables; foll. 11-12v., Preface, headings, and concordance of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 13v., Christ, donor and scribe; fol. 14v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 15-109, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 109-10v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 111v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 112-68v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 168v.-170v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 171v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 172-266v., Gospel of Luke; foll. 267-8v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 269v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 270-339, Gospel of John; foll. 339-40v., Colophon; foll. 341-5, On the death of John the Evangelist; foll. 345-6 and 349-9v., Colophons.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20.5 × 14.5 cm.; written surface 15 × 10 cm.; 2 columns of 18 lines each. 350 folios + 4 unnumbered.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin, cream vellum; margins trimmed. Medium-size, regular *bolorgir* in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first page of Matthew, the first line of the other Gospels, and the pericope initials are in floral letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, with flap; blind tooled with small rosettes, circles, and lines.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1342 at Drazark by Sargis Pidsak for the priest Tiratsu.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 109v. 'Please remember in the Lord, Sargis, the unworthy priest, and my parents, and may the Lord remember you. Amen.'

¹ For the work of Sargis Pidsak see above, pp. xxviii-xxix, 37.

Fol. 169. 'You who read this at home, or in a corner of the holy temple, (remember) Sargis the sinner, I pray, in the name of the Lord. If you forgive (my sins), may they be forgiven and erased through your words. The Lord is merciful to all.'

Fol. 268v. In a modern hand. 'Property of Doctor Armenak Neshan Khakhamian, who bought this with the proceeds of his work, in the year of Christ 1910. You who read this, say "God have mercy on the soul of the deceased who rested in the Lord on January 23, 1944."'

Foll. 339v.-40v. 'This manuscript of the word of God was written . . . by the unworthy hand of Sargis, falsely called a priest, and a sinful man, in the year of the Armenians 791 (= A.D. 1342), during the prelacy of Ter Mkhitar, and while Ter Basilios was the abbot of Drazark, and during the reign of Kostandianos, at the request of the honourable and wise old man, the priest Tiratsu; for he desired with an ardent love this brilliant and life-giving Testament. . . . I beseech you all . . . remember in your holy and pure prayers the honourable priest Tiratsu and his parents, his grandfather Karapet, and his father Hakob, and his mother Alids . . ., and together with them remember in the Lord my spiritual brother, the priest Sargis and his parents. . . . God called him to rest, may Christ God have mercy on him now and forever. And (remember) me, the unworthy Sargis, falsely called a priest, the scribe and illuminator of this holy Gospel, and my parents, the priest Grigor and Heghiné, and my sister T'efanav, and all my relatives, and my holy archbishop, the light of my eyes, my elder brother Basilios, and his parents and relatives; I pray and, prostrating myself, I beseech you all my brethren who read or see this, remember us before Christ our God. . . . Amen.'

Fol. 345. Brief, rhymed colophon by the same hand asking for prayers.

Fol. 345v. In a different but probably contemporary hand. 'Please remember in the Lord the very sinful binder of this, Mkrtich K'adjberontsi, and my parents, and our brother the deacon Nerses, and may God remember you.' A longer colophon which followed this notice has been erased and replaced by the colophon of a later owner; most of it is illegible.

A brief notice on fol. 346 states that the manuscript was rebound in 1656 by Karapet and Hohannes; another on fol. 349v. records the death of the wife of Kirakos in 1526. The date of the notice written by Het'um on fol. 349 is illegible.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 13v. *Christ, donor and scribe.* Inscriptions: next to Christ, 'Lord God Jesus Christ'; on the left band of the frame, 'Lord Jesus Christ, I, Tiratsu offer Thee Thine own'; on the right band of the frame, 'Christ my God Thy servant Sargis relies in Thee. Amen.' Pl. 21.

Fol. 14v. *Portrait of Matthew.* Pl. 22a.

Fol. 111v. *Portrait of Mark.* The composition is an almost exact replica of the portrait in Codex no. 561, pl. 20. The face and arms have been repainted.

Fol. 171v. *Portrait of Luke*, seated, writing, exactly as in Codex no. 561, fol. 148v.

Fol. 269v. *Portrait of John and Prochoros.* Pl. 23a.

A number of small scenes or single figures are painted in the margins at the beginning of the pericopes:

In the *Gospel of Matthew*: fol. 16v., Nativity, the Virgin is reclining next to the manger



with the Child and ass, Joseph is seated lower down (i. 18); fol. 17v., the Magi, crowned, and wearing short tunics and mantles, hold gold caskets; above them, a star descending from the segment of sky (ii. 1); fol. 18v., Joseph's dream (ii. 13); fol. 20, John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 21, Christ stands in the water which comes to His shoulders, a small dark figure is seated at His feet, the dove descends from the segment of sky, the tree with the axe is drawn higher up in the margin (iii. 13); fol. 25, Christ (v. 17); fol. 35v., Christ, in bust, above the marginal ornament, and the heads of three men below it (viii. 18); fol. 37v., Christ and Matthew (ix. 9); fol. 40, Christ (ix. 35); fol. 46, Christ praying (xi. 25); fol. 48v., Christ, in bust, above the ornament and, next to it, the blind man kneeling (xii. 22); fol. 54v., Christ (xiii. 36); fol. 56v., Herod enthroned (xiv. 1); fol. 57, the head of John the Baptist on a platter (xiv. 10); fol. 58, Christ and two apostles in a boat (xiv. 22); fol. 63v., Christ (xvi. 13); fol. 66v., the lunatic's father, kneeling (xvii. 14); fol. 76v., a tree (xx. 29); fol. 78, a tree (xxi. 18); fol. 81, Christ holding a book and blessing (xxii. 1); fol. 88, a temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 90, a small gold cross (xxiv. 27); fol. 100v., Christ pushed by two soldiers (xxvi. 57); fol. 102, four men are seated on two benches, one of them points to the rays descending from the segment of sky (xxvii. 1); fol. 107v., two holy women stand next to the empty sepulchre (xxviii. 1).

In the *Gospel of Mark*: fol. 115v., Christ seated in front of a building (ii. 1); fol. 119, Christ standing on a hillock (iii. 13); fol. 131, two apostles in a boat (vi. 45); fol. 134v., Christ has put one finger in the ear of the deaf and dumb man who is kneeling before Him, and with the other hand He pulls out the man's tongue (vii. 31); fol. 137v., Christ inside the temple (viii. 27); fol. 143v., Christ blesses two children (x. 13); fol. 146v., a blind man, in bust, next to a tree on which a child is climbing (x. 46); fol. 148, a tree (xi. 12); fol. 151v., Christ and two Sadducees (xii. 18); fol. 154, a temple (xiii. 1); fol. 159, Christ (xiv. 27); fol. 166v., Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the *Gospel of Luke*: foll. 173v.-4, Annunciation, the Virgin stands next to a small well, her jug is placed on the rim of the well (i. 26); fol. 177v., Augustus, crowned, is seated cross-legged on a low throne, he raises his left hand, the right rests on a sword in his lap (ii. 1); fol. 178, two shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 179v., Simeon, standing inside the temple, holds the Christ child on his left arm (ii. 22); fol. 186v., Christ holds a half-open book with both hands (iv. 1); fol. 194v., Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 201v., a Pharisee (vii. 36); fol. 209, Christ praying (ix. 18); fol. 217v., a demon, in the shape of a human-headed bird, with hair standing on end, and flames coming out of its mouth (xi. 14); fol. 226, flames coming out of two bowls (xii. 49); fol. 245v., a child, holding an axe, standing on a tree (xix. 29); fol. 251, a temple (xxi. 5); fol. 264, Christ and the two disciples on the way to Emmaus (xxiv. 13); fol. 266, Christ, in white raiment, seated in a mandorla (xxiv. 41).

In the *Gospel of John*: fol. 271v., the head of Christ above the marginal ornament (i. 18); fol. 274, six jars placed above the marginal ornament (ii. 1); fol. 280v., a bird with cross nimb (iv. 24); fol. 293, Christ (vii. 37); fol. 299v., Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 302, Christ (ix. 39); fol. 303a, a temple (x. 23); fol. 304, Lazarus in bed (xi. 1); fol. 309, a tree (xii. 12); fol. 316v., bird with cross nimb (xiv. 15); fol. 317v., a bird with a cross nimb flying down (xiv. 25); fol. 325v., Judas (xviii. 2); fol. 328, a cross (xviii. 28); fol. 330v., Christ carrying the cross (xix. 17); fol. 332v., Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38).

The ornaments of the *Letter of Eusebius* and of the *Canon tables*, those of the *headpieces*



(Pls. 22*b* and 23*b*) are very carefully drawn; in their general plan as well as in the choice of individual motifs they follow the types already used by Sargis in Codex no. 561 and in the Gospel of Venice no. 16.¹

REMARKS. This fine example of the work of Sargis Pidsak contains a larger number of marginal miniatures than any of his other manuscripts known so far.² In some instances only the bust of the figure emerges from the marginal ornament, but more often they are seen in full. Thus next to the examples in which, following his earlier practice, Sargis suggests an episode by representing only a detail, we find complete scenes as in the Nativity on fol. 16*v.*, or representations which follow the text very closely, for instance the healing of the blind and dumb demoniac on fol. 134*v.*

The frontispiece, with Christ blessing the donor and the scribe, is particularly interesting (Pl. 21). In the manuscripts of an earlier period the painter had usually represented only the donor in a prominent position and had not dared add his own portrait. But in the 14th century the painters' portraits begin to appear fairly frequently. In Codex no. 559 we saw the portrait of the scribe T'oros, standing in deacon's robes, in the representation of the Dormition;³ in another miniature of the same manuscript he is kneeling at Christ's feet, while the Virgin intercedes for him.⁴ In a similar composition painted by Avag in 1329 the donor and the scribe both kneel at Christ's feet.⁵

Three different portraits of Sargis Pidsak have survived. The first appears in the Gospel of Venice no. 16 illustrated in 1331, where he is represented kneeling at the feet of Matthew, while the donor, also named Sargis, kneels before Luke.⁶ Sargis Pidsak has a thick black beard and looks like a man in his thirties, but in his next portrait, painted in 1338, he gives the impression of a middle-aged person,⁷ and in the last example, that of our manuscript, painted in 1343, he is already an elderly man with a white beard (Pl. 21). These changes in the personal appearance clearly indicate that Sargis Pidsak tried each time to give a faithful image, and these miniatures are interesting examples of the art of portraiture in the 14th century.⁸

¹ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pls. LXVI-LXXXIII.

² For a list of the other manuscripts illustrated by Sargis Pidsak see above, p. 37, n. 2.

³ See above, p. 32.

⁴ Macler, *Documents*, pl. c, fig. 254.

⁵ Erivan, no. 99, cf. G. Hovsep'ian, *Khaghbakians*, ii, fig. 227.

⁶ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens*, pls. LXXVI and LXXX. Since both the donor and the scribe bear the same name and are priests, the identification is not absolutely certain, especially as under both compositions the scribe has added a short note for prayers for himself and his parents. I think, however,

that Sargis Pidsak is the priest kneeling before Matthew because his features are closer to those of the next two portraits of Sargis.

⁷ Etchmiadzin, no. 359/2627, cf. Svirine, *La Miniature*, p. 75. Sargis is here represented seated, and in the act of writing, or possibly painting.

⁸ A short descriptive article, with several reproductions, was published in 1950 in an Armenian periodical, before the manuscript had entered the Chester Beatty Collection; cf. Berdj Erziyan, 'An Unknown Work by the Famous Armenian Miniaturist Sargis Pidsak' (in Armenian), in *Surb P'rkitch*, Istanbul, May 1950, pp. 6-11.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1628-9

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1v.-2, End of the headings of the Gospel of Matthew; fol. 4v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 5-74, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 74-75v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark; fol. 76v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 77-121v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 122-4, Preface and headings of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 124v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 125-200, Gospel of Luke; foll. 200v.-201v., Preface and headings of the Gospel of John; fol. 202v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 203-59, Gospel of John; foll. 259-67, Colophon.

Lacunae. Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables; preface and the beginning of the headings of the Gospel of Matthew. The headings are probably on the recto of fol. 1 which is stuck to the binding.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21 × 14.5 cm.; written surface 14 × 10 cm.; 2 columns framed by red lines, 21 lines in each column. 271 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper, partly stained by humidity. *Bolorgir* in black ink which has turned to brown on some pages. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the second and third lines of each Gospel and the initials of the verses are in gold or blue *erkat'agir*.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards; blind tooled cross on upper cover and interlace panel on end cover; border frame in cord motif. Holes left by metal cover, now lost.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in A.D. 1628-9 at Ispahan by the priest Step'annos for khodja T'eghan and his son Masum.

COLOPHON. Foll. 259-67. 'Glory to Him who is without beginning and is the beginning of all. . . The meek and Christ-loving khodja T'eghan desired this holy Gospel . . . with an ardent love . . . and he had it written . . . as a goodly memorial of his soul, and of his parents, his father Hayrapet and his mother Sult'an Niger, and of his wife Soghme, and of their son paron Masum. . . . You who come across this Gospel, reading or seeing it, remember in your holy and pure prayers . . . khodja T'eghan, and his wife Soghme, and their son paron Masum, and all those who are mentioned above, and may merciful God have mercy on all. Amen. And now, I, . . . most sinful and unskilled in the art of writing . . . Step'annos, falsely called a priest, for I am one by name and not through my deeds, with the grace of God I began, and through His mercy I completed this holy Gospel, in the year of the Armenians 1078 (= A.D. 1629), in the metropolis of Ispahan, called Shosh, under the shelter of the church of the holy Theotokos, during the prelacy over all the Armenians of Ter Movses, and when Khatchatur *vardapet* was



the primate of our see of New Julfa; and during the reign over the Persians of Shah Abbas, the victorious king, and when the prince of the Armenians was khodja Nazar, a friend and intimate of the king. . . . And now I beseech you all . . . pray for the forgiveness of my sins, and those of my parents, the priest Martiros and T'anak, and may God have mercy on you, and forgive your sins. Amen. And now, I, the sinful servant of God, paron Masum, who received this holy Gospel from my rightful earnings, for the remission of my sins and the salvation of my soul, and that of my father khodja T'eghan, and my mother Sghmer, and of my sons and daughters, and I gave it as a present to the church of Saint George [the last two words are written over other words which have been erased], and let no one dare remove it from this church.'

'In the year of the Armenians, twice four hundred and two hundred and seventy and seven (= A.D. 1628) was written this divine treasure. . . .'

A long rhymed text follows (foll. 262v.-6) giving an explanation of the number four, and the symbolic meaning of the Canon tables. At the end the scribe, after again asking the readers to pray for the owners of the manuscript, adds: 'And I the humble and miserable man, Dzik' Step'annos the slave of sins, I have the name of a priest, but am most despicable in my deeds. . . . O Lord God of all, Jesus Christ son of David, do not deliver me into the hands of the evil tormenter, on the terrible, unprecedented day.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 4v. *Matthew*, seated on an ornate bench, writes in a book; a second book is placed on a fish-shaped lectern; there is no desk. His large gold nimb is decorated with a black floral motif, and edged with white dots; the left half of the nimb is cut off by a building. On the right side of the miniature a column, with a drapery hanging over it, rises behind the lectern. Inscription on the upper band of the frame: 'Gospel according to Matthew.'

Fol. 76v. *Mark* is seated almost full face, meditating; his left hand, holding a pen, rests on his knees, his right hand is raised to his chin, under his beard; his nimb is edged with white dots. The book is on a lectern placed on a low table; buildings with a drapery going from one to the other appear above a low wall.

Fol. 124v. *Luke* is seated, meditating, in front of a low table; he has no nimb. A domed construction, flanked by a rectangular building, and a column with a drapery knotted around it rise above a low wall.

Fol. 202v. *John* stands on the right, in front of light green and pinkish-brown rocks; his head is turned to the Hand of God in the segment of sky on the right, and he extends his right hand towards Prochoros who writes, sitting on a bench. The nimbs of both are edged with white dots.

The *headpieces* are decorated with various combinations of floral motifs painted on a gold ground; crouching or confronted animals appear in the arched openings of the rectangles. The large marginal ornament on the first page of the Gospel of Matthew is crowned with a medallion framing the bust figure of Christ Emmanuel; at the base there is another medallion with the bust of an aged man, who probably represents Jesse.

The marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes are occasionally replaced by trees (foll. 50v., 105v.); temples (foll. 57v., 110, 221, 230v.); a bird with a cross nimb (fol. 211v.); and a cross (fol. 252). On fol. 36, next to the reading of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, four fishes are introduced into the floral ornament.



REMARKS. We have in this manuscript an interesting example of the imitation of earlier models by some artists of New Julfa. The light colours used for the draperies—lilac, pale green, light blue, yellow—the voluminous mantle of Matthew with its fan-like folds, the gold cross-hatchings on the mantles of Mark and Luke, the general design of the draperies are all derived from Cilician manuscripts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

The marginal ornament of the first page of the Gospel of Matthew is a combination of the floral interlace commonly used, and of the Tree of Jesse represented at the same place in some Cilician manuscripts.

The portrait of John and Prochoros differs in style from the preceding three. The faces, hands, and feet are awkwardly drawn, the folds of the draperies follow a more obvious geometric pattern; instead of being drawn in fine hatchings, the gold is painted in fairly wide strips over the draperies. These differences do not seem to be entirely due to the use of a different model, and it is possible that this last miniature was not painted by the scribe Step'annos.

The name Step'annos occurs twice in the colophon. The first time the scribe gives his own name and those of his parents: Martiros and T'anak. At the end of the colophon the surname Dzik' is added, and although this Step'annos also writes in the first person he should not be identified with the scribe. For we know from other sources that the parents of Step'annos Dzik' were called Step'annos and Shnorhavor.¹

Step'annos Dzik', who had gone to Ispahan with the other Armenians deported by Shah Abbas, was a poet as well as a scribe and painter; his versified comments on the Gospels and his symbolic interpretation of the Canon tables appear in our manuscript on foll. 262v.-6. This poem was composed a few years earlier; in other manuscripts, particularly in Collections of Poems, the opening sentence reads: 'in the year of the Armenians twice four hundred and two hundred and seventy-two' (= A.D. 1623), instead of '... seventy-seven' (= A.D. 1628) as in our example.² In the last verses of this poem the author gives his name in the identical words used in our manuscript on fol. 266: 'and I the humble and miserable man, Dzik' Step'annos, the slave of sins, I have the name of a priest, but am most despicable in my deeds', etc. It would seem therefore that our scribe Step'annos copied the poem of his namesake to the end, retaining even the lines which referred to the author, and he only modified it by introducing the passages which relate to the owner of the manuscript. Other scribes also made use of the versified colophon composed by Step'annos Dzik', but they omitted the last verses with the author's name. We have a very good example in the colophon of Codex no. 578 written at New Julfa in 1655. Except for the first line which has been modified so as to give the date of the manuscript, the poem has been copied without any change down to the last verses which give the author's name (foll. 317-21). These are omitted; we have instead the title: 'Colophon of this holy book', followed by another versified colophon, composed probably by the scribe himself, in which he gives the names of the owners and of all their relatives, as well as his own name and that of the painter.

We have further proof that the scribe of our manuscript is not the same person as

¹ N. Akinian, 'Step'annos Dzik' of Julfa, Scribe, Poet and Painter' (in Armenian), *Handes Amsorya*, lxi (1947), coll. 112-23.

² Ibid., col. 121. For the entire poem see A. Surméyan, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens d'Alep*, vol. ii, pp. 116-18.



Step'annos Dzik', for we can compare the work of the two men. The portraits of the Evangelists and the full-page miniatures of a Gospel written and illustrated by Step'annos Dzik' (Aleppo, no. 15) are painted in the style of the late school of Khizan, and are entirely different from the illustrations of our manuscript.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 2-78, Gospel of Matthew; fol. 78v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 79-124v., Gospel of Mark; fol. 125v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 126-65v., Gospel of Luke.

Lacunae. Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables. After fol. 124 one leaf with the end of Mark xvi. 13-20; after fol. 165, Luke xi. 39 and the entire Gospel of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17.5 × 13.3 cm.; written surface 13 × 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 165 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. *Bolorgir* in brown ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards; worn. Traces of a metal cross on the front cover.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 1, partly erased: 'From the manuscripts of Karapet Hovhantjanants, 1 October, 1885, Alexandropol.'

Fol. 125, at the bottom of the page: 'Karapet Hovhantjanants. Tiflis, 5 April, 1919.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. *Matthew* (fol. 1v.), *Mark* (fol. 78v.), and *Luke* (fol. 125v.) are seated each in front of a desk; the open book is placed on a lectern. Buildings, with hanging draperies, appear in the background; floral motifs project from the frames at the centre of each side and at the angles. The predominant colours are blue, crimson, and green; gold is used for the nimbs and the backgrounds. The figures are highly stylized; the draperies are reduced to geometric patterns.

The *headpieces* of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (foll. 2 and 79) are Π -shaped and decorated with floral motifs and scrolls painted in blue, red, and green against the gold ground; palmette leaves fill the angles of the rectangular openings. The headpiece of the Gospel of Luke (fol. 126) is a rectangle, with a large multifoil arch opening into it and decorated with an arched band filled with floral motifs. The marginal ornaments of small floral interlaces and birds are tinted in red or brown and occasionally replaced by trees (foll. 52v., 107) and temples (foll. 67, 113v.).

REMARKS. A description of this manuscript was published by F. Macler in 1920-1, when it belonged to N. Romanoff, of Tiflis.¹ The latter part of the Gospel of Luke and the entire Gospel of John were already missing at that time, but a silver crucifix was still nailed on the front cover. A loose paper leaf, placed at the back of the manuscript, gave information about the previous owners, which Macler summarized as follows: The manuscript was discovered in 1830 in the cemetery of the chapel of Lmbat; the binding and the fourth Gospel were lost and the priest Sargis of Artig had it rebound and kept it in his house. In 1885, when Karapet Hovhantjanants was at Sovugh Bulagh, he bought this manuscript from a man called Manukian, and in 1895 he sent it to the Archaeological Society of Moscow, asking for an opinion. The answer, written in Russian, has neither been translated nor given in the original text by Macler.

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COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

DATED A.D. 1600

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 3-27, Preface. Title: 'Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles by Matthew the humble and ignorant pupil of the great Hohannes and of Grigor,² compiled from the Commentaries of the holy Fathers John Chrysostom and Ephrem, on the request of our brother Hakovb *vardapet* surnamed Ovsanants'; fol. 27v., Miniature; foll. 28-277v., Commentary; foll. 277v.-9, Conclusion and colophon of the author; foll. 279v.-81v., Colophons by the scribe and the owner.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20.6 × 14.8 cm.; written surface 14 × 9.5 cm.; single column of 27 lines. 281 + 7 folios. Two vellum fly-leaves taken from a large Lectionary in *bolorgir* and folded into two; two other vellum fly-leaves from a Latin manuscript, also folded into two.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper. Small regular *bolorgir* in black ink; floral initials at the beginning of each chapter.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, with flaps, blind-tooled with a border of cord motif, and a star pattern at the centre of the end cover; cord motif also on flap; the spine has been mended.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1600 at Sebastia by Hakob of Zeitun and Alik'sianos for Hohannes *vardapet*.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 27. 'Please remember in the Lord the scribe, deacon Hakob of Zeitun.' The scribe's name is written in cryptogram.

Foll. 278-9. Copy of the original colophon written in 1411 by the cleric Matthew, the compiler of the Commentary.³

Foll. 279v.-280. 'Glory to the Holy Trinity... the thrice blessed, glorious and learned

¹ F. Macler, 'Notice de deux tétraévangiles arméniens enluminés de la Collection N. Romanoff (Tiflis)', *Revue des études arméniennes*, i (1920-1), pp. 129-31.

² Hohannes, surnamed Orotnetsi, and Grigor, of

the monastery of Tat'ev, are well-known writers and teachers of the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

³ See J. Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, pp. 188-9.

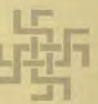


rheter, Hohannes *vardapet* ordered this (manuscript) to be written as an eternal memorial of himself and of his parents Hakob and T'amam . . . , for his own enjoyment and for the instruction of his students . . . assembled at his University. . . . This (manuscript) was completed in the year 1049 (= A.D. 1600) by the hand of the miserable and unskilled scribe Hakob *dpir* of Zeitun, under the shelter of the most famous and holy monastery of the Archangels at Sebastia, while the superiors of this holy convent were the noble priest Hohannes *vardapet*, the owner of this manuscript, and his pupil the bishop Melk'iset' . . . And I, worthless earth and ash, the servant of the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, Hakobik, a native of the land of Germanicea, which is Marash, of the small town of Zeitun, I came to Sebastia and I was lonely and saddened through bereavement; be lenient for the mistakes and the script, for the *vardapet* made me write rapidly so that in two days I would complete one quire. I therefore beseech you to remember in your pure prayers me . . . and my son Hohannes, and say "God have mercy" on my parents, Hohannes and Sara, and on my blood relatives. And my teacher the cleric Vahan of Zeitun who with great labour taught me, the most unworthy and the least of his students; and to my other teacher, the cleric Martiros of Hizan who taught me the art of painting and laying the gold, may God give in return His heavenly paradise. Amen. I beseech you again to remember in the Lord my compatriot and companion, my brother Alik'sianos *dpir*, for he wrote the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and I wrote the extracts and we placed them together. And he who remembers, may he be remembered by Christ God who is blessed forever, Amen.'

Foll. 280-1v. The text on fol. 280v. and the first three lines of fol. 281 are a repetition of the previous colophon, down to the mention of the owner Hohannes *vardapet*. From that point on the colophon continues with the praise of this cleric, and this is followed by a colophon written by the cleric himself. 'And I, worthless earth and ash, the servant of the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, Hohannes *vardapet* of Aıntab, brought up and educated in Cilicia, who am a stranger in the land of Sebastia, I had desired for a long time this holy, flowering garden. . . . Remember in your pure prayers . . . my father Hakob and my mother T'amam . . . and my spiritual parents, my first teacher, the catholicos Ter Khatchatur who trained me in musical knowledge, also the great *vardapet* Ter Astvadsatur of Sebastia who with great labour called me to the theological studies; [remember] also him who now gives me my light, the brilliant torch of the church, the celebrated and famous Ter Azaria, the catholicos of Sis who honoured me by bestowing upon me the degree of *vardapet*; also my beloved spiritual sons, and the sons of my uncle Vardan, Ter Daniel my pupil and his brother Alik'sianos *dpir* who wrote the commentary. [In a different writing] And my spiritual children who in our school studied the divine writings, the diligent Hakob, and Bishop Melk'iset', and Bishop Poghos and Mesrop adorned with the grace of God, please remember them in the Lord and say "God have mercy". And may the Lord God have mercy at His second coming on you who say "God have mercy". Amen.'

On fol. 265 a line has been drawn across the lines 10 to 19 which repeated the first nine lines, and the scribe has written in the lower margin: 'My brother, do not blame me, through the wiles of Satan this was written twice.'

The name of the scribe Hakob is written in cryptogram in the lower margin of fol. 277v.



The manuscript belonged to the Andonian congregation at Ortakeuy; their seal is stamped in the lower margin of fol. 3 and the catalogue reference is written inside the front cover by the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 27v. Christ, blessing and holding a book, stands between two priests wearing black hoods; the priest on the right also holds a book. Blue background.

The *headpiece* of fol. 3 is a narrow band; the headpiece of fol. 28 is formed by a rectangle, with a trefoil arch opening into it, and decorated with floral scrolls painted in rich colours against a gold background.

REMARKS. The full-page miniature probably represents Christ blessing the author, the cleric Matthew, who stands holding a book, and the owner of the manuscript Hohannes *vardapet*. The draperies of all three figures are highly stylized and reduced to geometric patterns; the style is a weak imitation of the paintings of the late Khizan school.

The scribe Hakob gives the names of his two teachers, both of whom are represented in this collection: Vahan of Zeitun is the illustrator of the Bible no. 552, and Martiros of Khizan is the well-known painter who illustrated the Gospel no. 573. Alik'sianos was also a pupil of Martiros of Khizan whom he hails as 'the pride of the Armenian nation'.¹

A few other manuscripts written by these two scribes are known. In 1599 Alik'sianos, who had recently come to Sebastia, copied for his cousin Hohannes *vardapet* (the owner of our manuscript) the Commentaries on the Minor Prophets by Nerses of Lambron, and he painted the portraits of the prophets on the margins.² The following year Alik'sianos and Hakob, working together, copied not only the present manuscript, but also the Commentaries of George of Lambron for Hohannes *vardapet*.³ In 1602 Hakob was at Aleppo, where he copied a Gospel and illustrated it with the portraits of the Evangelists,⁴ and in 1608 he copied and illustrated a Hymnal in Sebastia.⁵

SILVER BINDING I

DATED A.D. 1663

MEASUREMENTS. 16.3 × 13 × 6 cm.

Plate 65. Front cover, *Presentation of Christ*. Inscription: 'The Lord brought to the holy temple on his fortieth day.' End cover, *Virgin and Angels*. Inscription: 'Mary, the Theotokos, sings and the angels rejoice.' Spine, *Prophet holding an open scroll*. Inscription: 'This Gospel, bought with his rightful earnings, was adorned with silver in the city of Caesarea, by the hand of the silversmith M(ahtesi = the pilgrim) Karpet Shahpaz, in the year of the Armenians 1112 (= A.D. 1663) as a memorial for all and the praise of our Saviour Jesus Christ.'

¹ H. Oskian, *The Monasteries of Sebastia* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1946, p. 20.

² Bologna, no. 3291: F. Macler, *Notices de manuscrits arméniens . . . de l'Europe centrale*, Paris, 1913, pp. 26-34.

³ Etchmiadzin, Karenian Catalogue, no. 1338: H. Oskian, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

⁴ Aleppo, no. 38: A. Surméyan, *Catalogue*, i, pp. 80-81.

⁵ Vienna, no. 203: Dashian, *Catalog*, pp. 525-6.



REMARKS. An important group of Armenian silversmiths worked at Caesarea during the seventeenth century; in addition to the present example eleven silver bindings with Gospel scenes are known, with inscriptions giving the date, provenance, and almost always the name of the silversmith.¹ Two of these bindings have been made by men who have the same surname as the silversmith mentioned in the inscription of our example: a binding formerly in the Sevadjan Collection, no. 185, made in 1701 by the pilgrim Grigor Shahpaz, on which we see the Adoration of the Magi and the Ascension,² another belonging to Mr. J. Davis made in 1683 by the pilgrim Eghia Shahpaz.³

The Presentation of Christ placed in an elaborate architectural setting of the late Renaissance is obviously copied from a Western model. This same scene was repeated in a simpler form in 1687 by a silversmith of Caesarea who has not signed his name.⁴

The scene on the end cover, the Virgin surrounded by angels, and which obviously represents the *Magnificat*, is also inspired by Western art. I have not encountered any other example of this scene in Armenian works.

SILVER BINDING 4

18TH CENTURY

MEASUREMENTS. 18.9 × 12.2 (both covers).

Plate 66. Front cover, *Crucifixion*. End cover, *Virgin and Child*.

REMARKS. These covers are nailed on the leather binding of an Armenian New Testament printed in 1816. There were two clasps in the shape of hands; one of them is broken. The spine, which may have had an inscription, is missing.

The figures are in very high relief and they, as well as the ornaments, are almost entirely gilt; the clouds are very curiously rendered with circular gilt indentations. The composition is in open-work technique, and between the figures one can see a worn, dark velvet cloth.

The imitation of a Western model is apparent in the iconography of the Crucifixion—where Christ is nailed with three nails and wears a large crown of thorns—in the types of small angels and, especially, in the representation of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception on the end cover. The Virgin stands on the crescent like the woman of the Apocalypse who had ‘the moon under her feet’ (Rev. xii. 1), and as a second Eve she crushes the head of the serpent coiled around the crescent (Gen. iii. 15), thus showing the triumph over evil.

The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, one of the favourite themes of the late Renaissance and post-Renaissance periods, is usually represented alone without the Child.⁵ On an engraving by Martin Schongauer and some French representations one

¹ H. Kurdian, ‘The Silver Bindings of the School of Goldsmiths of Caesarea’ (in Armenian), *Hask*, i, pp. 51–61.

² Macler, *Documents*, pl. ciii, fig. 260.

³ A. Alboyadjian, *History of Armenian Caesarea* (in Armenian), Cairo, 1937, p. 1517; the scenes are not mentioned.

⁴ Macler, *Documents*, pl. cii, fig. 257. This manuscript, formerly in the Sevadjan Collection, no. 12, is

now at the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, no. 3437.

⁵ E. Mâle, *L’Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 44–48; K. Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928, vol. i, pp. 646–58; Anna B. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, London, 1872, pp. 42–53; S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in den 16. und 17. Jahrhunderten*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1910.

can see the half-figure of the Virgin holding the Child emerging from a large crescent moon;¹ in a few examples the Child, held in His mother's arms, pierces the serpent with a lance.²

The 'Immaculata' appears also on other Armenian bindings. The silversmiths of Caesarea represent her standing without the Child, and being crowned by the Trinity.³ On the gold binding of the Gospel of Queen Keran, made in Jerusalem in 1727, the Virgin is again represented with the Christ Child, but there is no serpent around the crescent.

¹ E. Bock, *Geschichte der grafischen Kunst (Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte)*, Berlin, 1930, p. 180; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1931, p. 211.

² S. Beissel, op. cit., p. 274, fig. 128; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, p. 40.

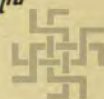
³ Macler, *Documents*, pls. cii and ciii, figs. 257-9.

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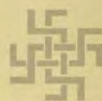
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 no. 6201, Gospels, A.D. 1038, pp. xxii n. 4, 14 n. 1, 56.
 no. 6230, Bible, A.D. 1358, pp. xxxii n. 1, 56 n. 7.

¹ Most of the manuscripts of Etchmiadzin are now at Erivan, but since no catalogue has yet been published, I have grouped them all under the double heading of Erivan—Etchmiadzin. The signatures of these manuscripts

have been changed several times and there is no alternative, at present, but to list them under the numbers given in the different publications in which they have been described or mentioned.



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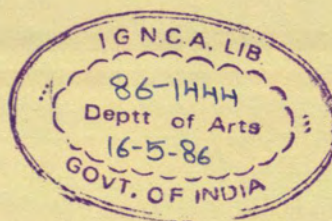
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